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000

ERRATA

Page	Line	Correction	Error
3	36	Ona	Ono
10	37-39	*a'o*	*ao*
12	12	islanders	islands
13	7	the few	these few
14	30	these names	that name
15	35	1100 A. D.	1100
	36	1400 and 1450	950 and 1150
17	11	Ua Pou	Na Pou
	38	Pua Ma'u	Pua Mau
20	30	*po'i*	*pi'i hina*
	31	Fiti-mui	Fitinui
	33	close	closer
	35	there	these
	40	Hana Pa'a Oa	Hana Pa'a
21	24	found	nd
22	12	Tahu Ata	Tahuata
23	26	stories	stores
24	31	distinctive	indistinctive
25	15	Easter	Eastern
27	9	Taha Uku	Tahauku
	29	Ona	Ono
30	7	Taupo-tua	Tau-po-tua
	17	whence	where
	30	whence	whither
31	8	The two	These
32	1	Tai-pi-ava-angi	Tai-pi ava-angi
37	8	(being not *tapu*)	(not *tapu*)
38	33	functionaries	functioners
39	1	masters	master
44	26	appears	appear
46	22	*manahi'i*	*manihi'i*
49	11	chief?	chief[3]
52	13	Nuku	Nuka
53	9	purpose	purposes
	19	words occurring	words
56	34	jealousy	jealusy
70	10	relationship term	relationship
	11	also to first	also first
81	5	Nuku	Uuku
89	26	*e inoa*	*o inoa*
94	1	her sisters	his
98	38	or merely	merely
99	24	occasional	occasionel
110	5	touched	touch
115	30	islands	island
124	8	Hiva	Hivo
127	45	*ouoho*	*owoho*
132	4	*tuhuna*	*auhuna*
140	30	*cooked. The*	cooked, the
141	9	was	war
	27	tribes	tribe
	38	Pa'aha-tai	Pahati
145	4	Fatu	Fata
	24	That is to say	That is, I say
148	39	sections	section
153	2, 6, 8	plate	joist
154	31	*vaka*	*veka*
157	21	pieces	piece
158	6	coconut fiber	coconut cord
164	10	store	stone
168	10	distributed	distributes
170	2	*au'oa*	*auo'a*
	3	*kau'oa*	*kauo'a*
178	14	cord	corn
179	55	**ko'oka**	**koo'ka**
184	19	described	describes
188	32	Tahu Ata	Tahu, Ata
190	34	keeps	keep
201	22	and even	even
209	7	*Uia*	*Via*
	34	*hunona*	*hunono*
211	6	valuables	valuable
212	16	usually	usual
213	31	*hahi*	*nahi*
214	10	description	descriptive
221	35	*ka'ioi*	*ka-ioi*
223	11	*tuhuka*	*tuhika*
234	32	*tapu*	*tapa*
241	18	the ears	their ears
247	29	Tiki, Tu, Kae	Tiki Tu Kae
248	14	seem	seems
257	32	chiefess	chiefly
262	2	*papa a'o*	*papa'ao*
268	17	*huetu*	*heutu*
275	32	fast	fact
280	24	*Ka'ioi*	*Ka-ioi*
	35	Haka Ui	Haka Hi
306	15	*hoko*	*hako*
311	26	*ru'u*	*eu'u*
315	25	intervals	entervals
316	27	*ko'ina*	*ko'ino*
319	32	Fai	Tai
321	13	large	lage
327	8	refer	refers
	32	momoe	momoa
333	11	example	examples
337	31	chant	chart
342	5	woman	women
	15	*to'o*	*ta'o*
352	7	Hiva	Hivo
354	36	**Nati kaha**	**Nati, kaha**
357	24	Ta'a Oa	Ta'a Ua
	33	Omo'a	Umo'a

Page 3, line 36, and elsewhere, substitute: Taiohae *for* Taio Hae *or* Tai o hae.

Page 12, line 5, substitute: contact with light-skinned Asiatics, or when some of them were themselves "white." A num-

Page 15, Table III, opposite the word "Taupo" substitute: 14, 24, 19, 475, 1400 A. D.

Page 114, lines 11 and 12, substitute: *huma is pa'aha* (to bind in the coffin) were killed.

Page 158, lines 1 and 2, substitute: bamboo sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in place the caulking of coconut fiber.

Page 170, following line 10, insert lines 1 to 12 inclusive of page 172.

Page 188, line 35, substitute: There is a great ma hole on the hillside in Atu Ona.

Page 282, insert between lines 38 and 39: chin, or on the fingers. The ornaments made of head hair were worn sometimes. . .

This list of errata has been prepared by the author, who has had no earlier opportunity to make corrections.

THE NATIVE CULTURE
IN THE
MARQUESAS

BY
E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

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E. S. Craighill Handy served as Ethnologist with the Marquesas party of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, 1920-1921, devoting his attention especially to the religion and social organization.

[7.2]

The Native Culture in the Marquesas

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The following description of the native culture in the Marquesas Islands is based on original research during a nine months' residence, supplemented by knowledge derived from printed literary sources and unpublished manuscripts. As ethnologist of the Bayard Dominick Expedition to the Marquesas, sent by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Honolulu, I arrived in the Marquesas September 21, 1920, remaining until June 21, 1921. The other members of the party were Ralph Linton, archæologist,, and Willowdean Chatterson Handy, volunteer associate. 114

Sincere appreciation for the opportunity to pursue this piece of research is here expressed to Mr. Bayard Dominick of New York, who financed the Expedition; to the Trustees of the Museum, under whose auspices the work was done; and to the Director, whose staunch support was unfailing. Cordial thanks are expressed to the other members of our party for their willing and productive coöperation in the work in the field. Especial thanks are due to Jane Lathrop Winne and the editorial staff of the Museum for their aid in the preparation of the manuscript in its last stages. The maps were made by Stanley C. Ball from charts issued by the U. S. Hydrographic Office; the drawings are by Willowdean Chatterson Handy. 000 [122]

To many others whose friendship and courtesy did much to make the work in the field successful, thanks are due. The party owes a particular debt of gratitude to the Administrator of the Marquesas, M. G. de Poyen-Belleisle, who, as the representative of France, extended to the American party every possible courtesy, including the free use of government buildings for residence and work, and whose personal friendship and courtesy did much to make our stay agreeable. Particular thanks are due to three members of the Catholic Mission (La Congrégation des Sacrês-Coeurs de Picpus) of the Marquesas, to Monseigneur David Lacadrê, le Père Simeon Delmas, and le Père Ignace whose interest and generosity opened to me information to be obtained from no other source, contained in manuscripts written by the Catholic fathers and now in possession of the Mission. To M. Paul Vernier, head of the Protestant Mission, and to Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, we owe a debt of gratitude for their hospitality and for the aid that they gave to the work through introductions and personal interest. Special thanks are due also to M. Guillitou of Atu Ono, Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, Mrs. G. M. Fisher of Taio Hae,

[p. 3]

000 and to Mr. Samuel Kekela of Ua Pou. This opportunity is taken also to thank M. Tissot of Ua Pou, MM. Berard and le Brunnec at Atu Ona, Penapena at Haka Hau (Ua Pou), M. Charles Henri at Taio Hae, and all others whose courtesy and interest facilitated the work.

115 The names of natives who gave information, and others who assisted in one way or another in the work, are too numerous to attempt even to list. To one native, however, is due more than to all the rest—Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane. This friend should be characterized not merely as an informant but as a co-worker and fellow-student. As a boy he used to sit and listen to the talk of the old men; today he is an expert wood carver (one of a very few who remain), an accepted *tuhuna* (master) of legendary lore, genealogy, chanting, and so on, in Atu Ona, and the organizer and leader of the singing and dancing of the modern Bastile Day celebrations. Another native to whom particular thanks are due is Proiho, of Fatu Hiva, a carver and also a devotee of the fine old native culture; and still another is Tahia-ti'a-koe of Pua Ma'u, who wrote an invaluable manuscript, containing the most important sacred chants, from the dictation of her grandfather, who was a ceremonial priest, and who, with her husband, Pe'ohai, gave much important information regarding certain religious practices.

124 Most of the details concerning the ancient life and history contained in the following pages came from the memories of those who had themselves seen the things or customs described or who had been told of them. The first necessity for the work was found to be the learning of the native language, which is a dialect of the Polynesian. Most of my information, therefore, came direct—that is, not through the medium of an interpreter. When one is working almost entirely through the memories of informants or, worse yet, through informants who themselves are giving second-hand information, many small errors are bound to creep in. These were avoided as far as possible by continual checking up, comparison, and elimination. It should be said in this connection that the memories of natives who are interested in their own ancient ways are remarkably tenacious and, further, that Marquesans are by no means prone to invent or give false information, particularly when they recognize that their interlocutor is familiar with the culture in general. Informants were carefully chosen, and information was scrupulously weighed. I therefore feel assured that, while there may be small errors in the following account, it is in the main accurate.

177 The descriptions of the ancient Marquesan life as given here might lead the reader to believe that much more of the ancient culture still exists than can actually be found in the islands today. As a matter of fact only

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating 177
habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the
genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of
any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There [342]
are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands,
but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two
rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See [291]
Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While [262]
popoi made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking
is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European
than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee
and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking
utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to 797
the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who
have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of
Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French 619
subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their
sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally
affected by eighty years of white dominance. [161]

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen
hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the 177
most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according 144
to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the
finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of
them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly 177
few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. 164
The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of
rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other
minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands
and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is 161
due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; 178
to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life
with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their
whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural
avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely
by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near
disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension
on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse
that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally
unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which [181]
leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

181 In the following descriptions of the native culture there are ample indications of barbarism and savagery. In their untrammeled freedom and isolation the natives expressed these aspects of their nature to the utmost. In a true evaluation of the people, however, adequate appreciation of their cultured traits and innate capacities must be measured along with the more spectacular barbaric characteristics which have heretofore been almost exclusively stressed. The ancient culture gives ample proofs of the presence of admirable human traits, as does also the make-up of the modern native, product of generations of demoralizing influences though he be. Some of these traits are manual and technical skill and the ideal of perfection in work; ability to organize and to accomplish on a large scale; characteristics such as loyalty, generosity, and gratitude in friendly personal relationship; a keen appreciation of individual integrity expressed in personal independence with clear conceptions of justice and honor; high refinements, subtleties, and graces in social and æsthetic expression; and capacity for rational and imaginative thought belonging to a very high order of intelligence.

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

THE ISLANDS

131 The Marquesas lie between parallels 7°50′ and 10°35′ south of the Equator, and meridians 138°25′ and 140°50′ west of Greenwich (See fig. 1). In other words the group is from one to three degrees north of the latitude of Lima, Peru, and from fifteen to eighteen degrees east of the longitude of the island of Hawaii. The principal islands are Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, Ua Huka, Ua Pou, and Nuku Hiva. (See figs. 2-7.)

133 The group lies in the course of the westward equatorial current from the coast of South America. Of currents we read in the Pacific Islands Pilot (28, p. 177):

> The current, impelled by the prevailing trade wind, is usually to the westward, between west-northwest and west-southwest, at a rate of about half a knot an hour, sometimes, however, increasing to three knots. If the wind dies away or changes to the westward, the current slacks, and during persistent westerly winds its direction changes. After a week of northwesterly winds, a current setting to the eastward at the rate of three knots were observed in Bordelais Strait, between Hiva oa and Tau ata.

132 It is the trade winds which bring the islands their rain, the moisture borne by them being caught and precipitated by the high mountains. To quote again the same authority (28, pp. 176-7):

> From April to October the southeast trade wind, called by the natives *tua to ho*, prevails in the vicinity of these islands. The general direction is east-southeast, but it varies between east and south-southeast. . . . The wind sometimes gets to the west of north, when it is apt to turn into a gale. Gales are, however, of rare occurence, generally occurring in December, if at all. 132

As a consequence of the fact that this precipitation is much heavier at the windward than at the leeward ends of the two large islands, Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the flora is much more luxuriant at these ends, and a diminution of the luxuriance and a change in the nature of the flora due to decreasing rainfall is seen from east to west. This tendency is to be observed in each of the inhabited islands, but there are individual differences in certain of these which should be noted. Fatu Hiva is known for its wetness. Its position makes it the first island to tap the southeast trade winds. Eastern Hiva Oa is wet, Western Hiva Oa, dry, and Ua Huka is also dry because its mountains are low. Nuku Hiva is wet on its eastern section while all the western plateau is practically desert. Ua Pou is the dryest of all the islands, its rain being cut off by Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva. Dryness amounts to dessication in times of drought. There is no regular rainy season in the group, the rain coming most commonly from January to July, and intermittently. But the group is [137]

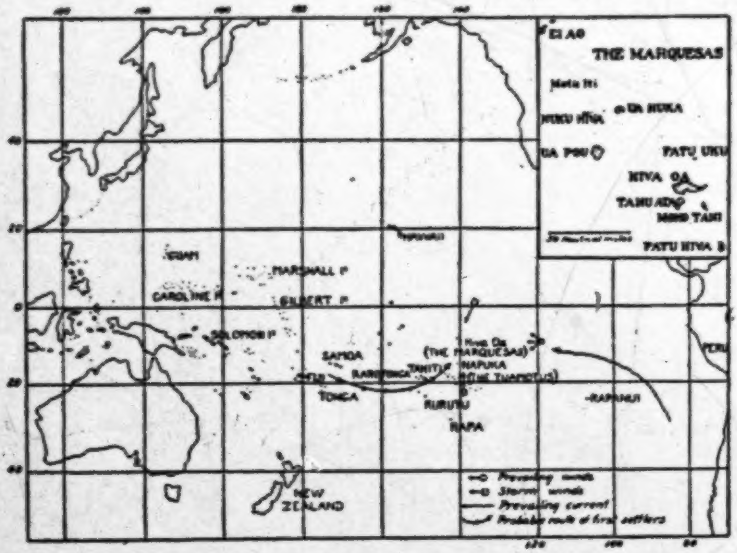
EI AO
THE MARQUESAS
Motu Iti
NUKU HIVA
UA HUKA
UA POU
FATU UKU
HIVA OA
TAHUATA
MOHO TANI
FATU HIVA
GUAM
HAWAII
MARSHALL I.
CAROLINE I.
GILBERT I.
SOLOMON I.
SAMOA
FIJI
RAROTONGA
TAHITI
TONGA
Hiva Oa
(THE MARQUESAS)
NAPUKA
(THE TUAMOTUS)
RURUTU
RAPA
RAPANUI
PERU
NEW ZEALAND
Prevailing winds
Storm winds
Prevailing current
Probable route of first settlers

FIGURE 1.—Map showing location of the Marquesas.

132 subject to severe droughts at times. A drought of four years' duration
has recently broken in Hiva Oa, and not long ago there was one in Ua Pou
that lasted seven years. The uncertainty of rainfall and these occasional
droughts have affected directly the native culture.

The climate of these islands is rather subtropical than tropical. Like all the small Pacific islands that lie in the course of the trade winds, they are never torrid. At times during rains the atmosphere may be humid, but for the most part it is dry. The temperature varies only about twenty degrees the year round, approximately from 70° to 90° F. The equable climate of the group is due to the cooling of the trade winds and the tempering of the sea.

133 The Marquesas Islands are volcanic. The material is black lava, very
coarse in some places and very fine grained in others; red tufa; basalt;
[134] and conglomerate deposits. The rapid degeneration, crumbling, falling
away, and eroding of the softer materials lead to the coasts and valley
walls being precipitous, high and rugged. The harder basalt in many
instances forms jagged spines. The ridges and spurs leading from the
main mountainous backbone, which may be said, roughly, to traverse the
mid-portion of each of the islands in the direction of its greatest length,
run directly to the sea. Between them are the valleys, cut deep by the
streams, which drain the mountainous interior. The charts of the Mar-
quesas are misleading in that those regions of the islands which could not
be viewed from the sea, whence the coastal surveys were made, are
marked, "Plateau." There is no genuine plateau region: the interiors of
all the islands are mountainous. The maximum elevations of the main
islands in feet are as follows: Fatu Hiva, 3151; Tahu Ata, 3280; Hiva
Oa, 3904; Ua Pou, 4040; Ua Huna, 2305; Nuku Hiva, 3890. There are
no protecting coral reefs, the shores being too precipitous, although a
little coral grows in the bottoms of some bays. Hence the coast is un-
protected and there are few beaches. There is practically no level land
either along the shores or in the valley bottoms.

The marked influence of environment on the people and on their cul-
ture may be noted briefly. The isolation of deep valleys, inacessibility
by land and by sea, had much to do with the tribal development, continuous
warfare, and the lack of a nationalistic tendency in political organization
such as that which developed in Tonga, Tahiti, the Cook group, and
Hawaii. Since the region is not suited to agricultural development, the
[251 droughts and consequent famines brought about the preservation of
262] breadfruit paste in holes in the ground, breadfruit being the most prolific
of all foods growing in these islands, and hence, the staple. The non-

The non-existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing 133
on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water [226]
fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed,
one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous
rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help 133
feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and 171
their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: 361
Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva.
Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily
based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, 161
however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

161 hundred thousand. It is probable that it^ fluctuated between these two extremes, being reduced considerably at times of severe drought and [731] famine—Garcia (14, p. 125) cites an historical instance—and being recuperated gradually to its maximum during the intervening times of plenty.

Traditional Evidence of Settlement

173 No evidence was found among natives living today of any knowledge of immigration into the group by their ancestors, nor of occasional arrivals of small groups of individuals. The route by which the first settlers probably came, as indicated by traditions, is shown on the map (fig. 1), together with the contrary direction of the ocean currents and prevailing winds.

No direct evidence of any knowledge of the coming of their ancestors to the islands is to be found among the natives living today. According to Porter, however, there was a tradition of a god named Haii, who is said to have arrived at Ha'a Tuatua Bay on the east coast of Nuku Hiva, bringing chickens and pigs. The people did not know whether this person came in a ship or a canoe, nor could they tell how long he remained among them. The time of his arrival was said to have been more than twenty generations prior to Porter's visit. Estimating on the basis of twenty-five years to a generation, this reckoning would indicate that Haii, if he were a real, and not merely a legendary character, visited Nuku Hiva something over five hundred years prior to Porter's visit in 1813. The same writer was told also that the coconut was, according to legend, brought by a god named Tao, who came from an island named Utupu (Ootoopoo), which was supposed to lie somewhere to the windward of Fatu Hiva (La Magdalena) (24, pp. 91-2). [1]Porter was apparently not told how many generations ago this was supposed to have been. This is the only direct evidence I have that indicates any conception on the part of the natives of the arrival in their islands of immigrants or visitors from the outside world prior to European contact.

There is, however, indirect evidence, that proves the ancient Marquesas islanders to have had a knowledge of other islands and regions in Polynesia. The Nuku Hiva story in which Pepeiu's voyage is recounted indicates a knowledge of the existence and location of Rimatara, Tubuai, and Rarotonga. Again, the story from Hiva Oa of going to Rarotonga for feathers indicates a definite knowledge of that island and of several others, the locations of which the natives apparently anciently knew but which cannot now be identified with the present state of knowledge regarding the ancient names of islands in the eastern Pacific. The occurrence in certain sacred chants of the names Tona Tapu (Tonga-tabu), Vevau (Vavau), Fiti Nui (Fiji-Nui), Havai'i (Hawai'i, Savai'i), Upo'u (Upolu), Po'apo'a (Borabora), and others, as names of *fenua* or lands to the westward (toward Havai'i) indicates a memory, at least, of some geographic region where these were familiar names. Whether these were original for the natives of the Marquesas in the regions in which they were the native names of the islands at the time of discovery or whether their origins must be sought much further back toward Asia, only future investigation can prove conclusively. That names of lands were transplanted in the Pacific is proved in Central Polynesia. Vavau for the Tongan was the largest of the northern islands of this group; for the Tahitian, it was the ancient name of Borabora; for the natives of the Marquesas, it was the great valley on Hiva Oa now called Atu Ona. Fiji to the Tongan was Fiji Nui, "the great land to the west;" Hiti Nui was the ancient name of Tahiti; Fiti Nui to the Marquesan was a region on the western end of Hiva Oa. I have been assured by trustworthy informants that in ancient times Marquesas islanders used to go to Tona Tapu. There is a story from Hiva Oa which relates the voyage of a chief to Tefiti. This may well be the Hiva Oa dialetical variant of Tahiti; but it is to be noted that in the story it is definitely said that this land was toward the rising sun. The distribution of these land names just discussed proves one thing: that the people who used these names extended their possession right across central Polynesia from Tonga and Samoa, through the Society group, to the Marquesas.

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[1] It is my belief that this story is due to mistranslation of a simple reply. If one pointed to a coconut tree, or a coconut, and asked a native whence it came, he would reply, "*U tupu no i ao*," it grew (or grows) from below. Porter's island "Ootoopoo" may, therefore, merely mean "it grew"; and the god Tao may even be a misspelling of *i ao*.

^ [i.e., the population. - Analyst]

No evidence has come to light which would indicate that Marquesas islanders had ever seen white men before the arrival of the historic explorers. In Hiva Oa it is said that Tane and Atea were, respectively, older and younger brothers. Tane was fair with light hair and is said to have been the ancestor of the white race (the Hao'e); Atea was dark like the natives, who are his descendants. This conception of Tane as a fair god I believe to be genuinely native, since it is in line with many similar mythological concepts of deities with fair hair and fair skins in other groups of Polynesia. Whether or not this indicates contact with individuals or groups of the white race prior to the historic discovery of the Marquesas, one cannot say. The beginning of the period when

Spanish or Portuguese adventurers might have arrived at the group was in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, these concepts in Polynesian mythology may have had their origin in Indonesia or in Asia itself, when some of the ancestors of the Polynesians were in concepts in Polynesian mythology may have had their origin in Indonesia ber of early voyagers say that white men who first came to the group were supposed to be gods *(etua)*. Whether this was due to association of the white men with such mythological teachings as are mentioned above, or merely to the fact of the size of their ships, the splendor of their uniforms, and particularly to the sight and sound and effect of their firearms, one cannot tell for certain. All that one may say with assurance is that the Marquesas islands, like the rest of the Polynesians, must, at some time prior to the first recorded visits of Europeans, have known of the existence of a white race, but that there is no evidence of their remembering having seen white men prior to the historical arrival of the earliest European visitors, the Spaniards, under the command of Quiros in 1595. The presence of Caucasian blood in the native physical complex, which is indicated by the descriptions of the early voyagers, and which was brought out also by the anthropological investigations of our expedition, must be borne in mind in connection with these considerations. All of the early voyagers were struck by the lightness of skin of the natives. Quiros (pp. 17, 22, 28) in particular speaks of light skins and refers once to red hair. This fairness of skin was undoubtedly due to some extent to the practice of bleaching; but the custom itself indicates an admiration for light complexion. This admiration is exhibited in many legends, as in that of Tuapu in which the color of the skin of the hero is likened to that of the meat of a coconut. Some credence is certainly due also to the statements of natives of the present day, with many of whom I have discussed this subject. All insist that in ancient times, before the arrival of any Europeans, there were many of their people with very light skin and reddish hair.

Quiros gives a very interesting bit of evidence indicating that the inhabitants of Hiva Oa had a knowledge of some darker complexioned people living in regions to the southward of their island. One concludes that these must have been natives of Tuamotu, some of whom, as a result of their life in the sun, wind, and sea, are very dark. To quote Quiros (25, p. 152):

> The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs toward the S., to say that in that direction there were men like him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess.

The most trustworthy evidence as to the immigration of the original natives of the Marquesas comes from genealogies and legends. Some analysis and discussion of the genealogies will be necessary before conclusions can be stated.

EVIDENCE OF GENEALOGIES

Every genealogy that I possess has in it, doubtless, numerous errors. No native today can recite his genealogy for many generations back. It is only these few that have been laboriously written down in old account books or on sheets of paper that can be obtained now, and in the writing of these by natives many errors have crept in. For instance, one was given me to copy in which all the names of men and of women were transposed in one section of the genealogy without anything to indicate the change. Frequently, too, a list of the children of some man and woman in the direct line is included in a single column, instead of being put into a side column, the children thus appearing as consecutive generations in the direct line. It is evident from the most trustworthy of my records that even in the ancient days one would have found considerable variations. For instance, in the early sections where conformity would be expected, there is wide variation, omission, different names, transposition of superior and inferior, and even of male and female. In other words it seems almost certain that, even in ancient times, the genealogists would not have been found to correspond accurately in detail, but rather to approximate each other. The division of the people into tribes, their separation and isolation, and the transmission of rceords by word of mouth from *tuhuna* to *tuhuna* must necessarily have given occasion for much error.

It does seem, however, that the genealogies may be utilized safely in making approximations of time elapsed. They may be said to furnish trustworthy suggestions at least. In the following tables certain notable names have been selected from the most trustworthy of the genealogies at hand: the numbers of generations following them, down to the last name written, have been recorded and these records have been converted into years, and averages made. Explanatory notes follow the tables.

With regard to Genealogy IV in Table I in which the number of generations is so much less than in the others, it should be remarked that this is the only one of the four of which I have no way of knowing whether or not it is complete down to the recent times. It was recorded by Père Pierre. For a number of reasons I am inclined to think that it is not complete in its latter portion. I should, therefore, be inclined to regard the average figures arrived at by using this genealogy in combination with the other three as a more accurate minimum than that given by Genealogy IV alone. The figures are self explanatory. In converting the generations into years, twenty-five years has been chosen as the probable average per generation.

TABLE I.—MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

	GENEALOGIES				AVERAGES		EXTREMES			
							MAXIMUM		MINIMUM	
	I	II	III	IV	GEN.	YRS.	GEN.	YRS.	GEN.	YRS.
Atea and Atanua	90	67	74	46	69	1665	90	2250	46	1150
Ancient lands (Vevau, Fiti, etc.)	82	61	65	39	62	1550	82	2050	39	975
Tiki	69	54	45	32	50	1250	69	1725	32	800
Tana-oa	65	51	41	23	45	1125	65	1625	23	575

Atea and Atanua were traditionally the progenitors of the race. After Atea and Atanua always come names corresponding to those in use elsewhere anciently and in modern times—names which to the Marquesas islanders were at the same time names of ancient, distant lands and ancient names of local regions. Is there justification for concluding the Marquesas islanders were living in lands called by these names perhaps as long ago as two thousand years? No more than for concluding that these names are those of actual human beings. I take the occurrence of these names to mean, not that the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas were living in Vavau, Tonga, Fiji, or Savai'i at that ancient date, but that the region throughout which these names occur—Central Polynesia—was the route by which the natives, who arrived at the Marquesas in about the tenth century, came; and that these were revered names of some kind in still more distant and ancient lands to the northwestward.

Tiki and Tana-oa are deities and legendary heroes, undoubtedly purely mythical, so far as the Marquesans are concerned. There is no reason to suppose that any persons known by that name ever actually lived in the Marquesas.

In Table II is tabulated the antiquity in generations of certain characters, famous in legend, whose names are today the names of tribes or larger divisions of the country. The dates were arrived at by using 1875 as the approximate date of the last generation recorded.

TABLE II.—ANTIQUITY OF LEGENDARY CHARACTERS

BASED ON FIVE GENEALOGIES

	GENEALOGIES					AVERAGE	YEARS	APPROX. DATE
	I	II	IV	V	VI			
Nuku	35	39	18	—	—	31	775	1100 A.D.
Tiu	31	42	13	—	—	29	725	1150 A.D.
Mo'ota	32	41	14	—	—	29	725	1150 A.D.
Mohuta	28	38	—	—	27	31	775	1100 A.D.
Taupo	14	24	8	21	—	17	425	1450 A.D.

Nuku was, traditionally, one of two brothers who were the first settlers on Hiva Oa. As the name of the settler of the western half of Hiva Oa, Nuku became the name of the whole of that part of the island, or of the people living there in the dual division which is described below. Tiu is said to have been born in the valley of Taha Uku and to have settled in Ta'a Oa—the inclusive name for all the people in the great valley of Ta'a Oa is Tiu. Mo'ota was the name of one of several brothers of Tiu, who went to settle on Fatu Hiva and today is the name of a tribe on that island. There is everything in the legend of Tiu to make one feel justified in regarding it as certainly of local origin, and as a trustworthy piece of traditional history. Mohuta is the name of the tribe which inhabited the valley of Hana Uaụa on the south coast of Hiva Oa. Taupo is the name of one of the subtribal divisions in the great valley of Vevau (Atu Ona). As was said above it is not certain that Genealogy IV is complete to recent times. The fact that the figures based on it are so much lower than those based on the others, which I am sure are complete, leads me to think that it is not. I feel justified, therefore, in regarding the averages arrived at by including Genealogy IV as a safe minimum. By using only Genealogies I and II, the two most trustworthy I have—both from Atu Ona—a safe maximum may be obtained.

TABEL III.—ANTIQUITY OF LEGENDARY CHARACTERS BASED ON THE TWO MOST TRUSTWORTHY GENEALOGIES

	GENEALOGIES		AVERAGE	YEARS	DATE
	I	II			
Nuku	35	39	37	925	950 A.D.
Tiu	31	42	37	925	950 A.D.
Mo'ota	32	41	37	925	950 A.D.
Mohuta	28	38	33	825	1050 A.D.
Taupo	14	24	38	950	925 A.D.

Judging from the genealogies, it would seem that one is justified in arriving at the following conclusions, based on the figures given in Tables II and III:

Nuku, a first settler on Hiva Oa, came between 950 and 1100 A.D., perhaps somewhat earlier, certainly not later than 1100; Tiu, a brother of Mo'ota, settled in Ta'a Oa between 950 and 1150 A.D., and founded the tribe inhabiting that valley; Mo'ota was born in Taha Uku, Hiva Oa, between 950 and 1150 A.D., and went to settle in the island of Fatu Hiva, where he founded a tribe; Mohuta founded a tribe in Hiva Oa in about 100 A.D.

The founder of the subtribe of the Na-iki in Vevau (Atu Ona)) called Taupo, was born sometime between 1175 and 1450 A.D. The evi-

173 dence, which indicates that the small valleys on the northwest coast of Hiva Oa were colonized by the Taupo tribe, this region being called Taupo Tua, or Back Taupo, is given below in the discussion of tribal relations on Hiva Oa. The expansion, which led to this colonization, certainly could not have come about for some centuries, even granting that Taupo may have had a number of followers when he founded his tribe. It seems safe, therefore, to assume that the colonization of the northwest coast was, at the earliest, not before the latest date arrived at for Taupo, 1450 A.D. The northwest coast of Hiva Oa was, then, colonized certainly not before the fifteenth century.

On the basis of the evidence from genealogy and tradition presented above, which I consider trustworthy for approximations, it appears that Hiva Oa must have been settled in about the tenth century; that from that century to the twelfth was what we may call the early period of settlement in the islands of the southern group; and that from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries was a period of later expansion. Conclusions based on evidence from these sources and arrived at by this method will be on a sure basis if more genealogies and more traditional evidence can be obtained. It is hoped that future work will make this possible.

FIRST INHABITANTS AND PLACES OF SETTLEMENT

174 According to Père Pierre (4), the natives believed that the names of the first inhabitants of the six main islands were as follows: of Nuku Hiva, Mohuta; of Hiva Oa, Tapu–oko; of Tahu Ata, Toheto; of Fatu Hiva, Mihi-toka; of Ua Huka, Koki-oho; of Ua Pou, Pa-hohe. The name Mohuta is the only one of these which occurs in the genealogies in my possession.

There is good reason to believe that early colonists to the Marquesas would have chosen Hiva Oa in preference to Nuku Hiva for settlement, since it is less rugged and much more inviting. Furthermore, there is every reason to suppose that they would have chosen as the most desirable location in which to dwell the region made up of what is now Atu Ona with the neighboring and easily accessible valleys of Te Hutu, Ta'a Oa and Taha Uku. This is obvious to one acquainted with the island, since this section presents by far the most expansive and most favored region for human existence. However, that this become a center of cultural development may have been due not to the choice of original settlers, but to the fact that after settlement was general it was the most favorable place for the development of a large population, and hence that its people gradually attained a dominant position politically and culturally. The naming of Atu Ona, Vevau, the claims of its inhabitants and other evidence,

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about to be discussed, leads me to feel, however, that the balance of evidence is on the side of this being an original center of settlement.

The largest and most important valley on Hiva Oa, now known as Atu Ona, anciently called Vevau Tua-kahakaha, or simply, Vevau, is said by informants of Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva, to have been the cradle and source of native lore, the center from which spread most of the traditions of the group, also the chants, the scenes of many of which are laid in its environs. This claim is sustained by other evidence, all of which points to this region as one of original settlement. In the first place, inhabitants of Nuku Hiva admit freely that most traditions came from Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva and Na Pou, the people believed that all souls returned to Kiukiu, the western extremity of Hiva Oa, before starting on their journey to Havai'i. Porter (p. 94) mentions the inhabitants of Tai o Hae speaking of another island named Vavao. The use of Vevau as a name for sacred places was very frequent. It is certain that Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were peopled by colonists from Hiva Oa. So much for this relationship of the other islands of the group to Hiva Oa.

Evidence from within Hiva Oa supports the assertion of Atu Ona natives that their valley (Vevau) was the nest of Hiva Oa culture. The sacred chants (*vavana* and *pu'e*, etc.) and information regarding them secured at Pua Ma'u, have furnished me with what I believe to be conclusive evidence that Vevau (Atu Ona) and the contiguous regions represent the center in which the Hiva Oa culture had its growth. The *vavana* was sung in a special structure called the *fa'e Papa*. What is said to be the *paepae* (platform) of the original *fa'e Papa*, in which lived Atanua, the ancestress of the Marquesas islanders, lies under the sea a little way from the westward end of the beach at Atu Ona. It is said to be visible on clear, calm days from some high points on adjacent shores, but I have never seen it. It is supposed to be built with cut, red-stone blocks *(ke'etu)* of the type used in platform construction. Whether this is a natural formation resembling a house platform, or actually a submerged platform, it is impossible to say. In the *vavana*, there is reference repeatedly to names that are ancient names of regions contiguous to the present Atu Ona: Vevau, Po'apo'a (said to be above Taha Uku), Fiti Nui (a plateau west of Ta'a Oa) and so on. Also in this chant there is reference to Atu Ona and Taha Uku, and to other places in the vicinity that can be definitely located. When working over this chant with informants in Pua Mau, I was told that the reason for such references was that the chants had originated there. There is one further item of evidence that should be presented. In the base of Vevau (Atu Ona) is a small mountain named Kei Ani (Pierce sky). This mountain was regarded as a *me'ae* (temple). There is no structure on it, according to informants, but it is called *mouna tuatini etua* (mountain of innumerable gods) or *mouna tautina etua* (mountain which is the landing place of gods). It is said that at certain times the gods of all the valleys and islands used to congregate at Kei Ani. Beyond this statement, I was never able to get any information regarding beliefs or activities connected with this mountain, but the spread of names from Atu Ona supports the evidence. Other names of places and tribes occur in repetition in different islands but none so frequently as the following: Vevau, the ancient name of the valley of Atu Ona, recurs as the name of temple in Atu Ona on Hiva Oa; in Tai-pi Vai, Haka Ehu, and Pua on Nuku Hiva; inVai Paee on Ua Huka. It is the name of feast places in Ana Mi'ai on Tahu Ata, and in Vai Paee on Ua Huka. Na-iki, the name of the tribe of Vevau (Atu Ona), occurs also as a tribal name in Vai Paee on Ua Huka; in Pua Hapa'a, and Hatiheu on Nuku Hiva; and in Haka Hau on Ua Pou. Pou Au, the name of the sacred mount and temple in the base of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), recurs as a tribal name on Hiva Oa in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on Ua Pou in the valley of Haka he Tau; and as a temple name in Atu Ona on Hiva Oa; in Vai Tahu, on Tahu Ata; in Omo'a on Fatu Hiva; in A'a Kapa, Tai o Hae, and Hapa'a on Nuku Hiva.

The distribution of the name, Pua Ma'u, is also interesting. In the first place it is the name of the great valley at the eastern end of Hiva Oa. We find it recurring as the name of feast places at A'a Kapa, Taipi Vai, and Hapa'a on Nuku Hiva. That this name recurs only on Nuku Hiva is significant. Pua Ma'u is not the ancient Hiva Oa name for that valley, but a new name. It may indicate the Pa'aha Tai, the tribe that finally drove out the Na-iki living in Pua Ma'u, came from Nuku Hiva. The *vavana* chant obtained in Pua Ma'u from the Pa'aha Tai had its origin in Vevau (Atu Ona); but this chant may have been acquired from the Na-iki before they were driven from Pua Ma'u.

It has been shown that evidence obtained on Nuku Hiva supports the claim of people living in Atu Ona today, that their valley was the ancient center of the culture; but it seems to me entirely within reason to suppose that there was another center of development and distribution on Nuku Hiva. The complete population of eastern Nuku Hiva by Taipi, the great size and advantages for habitation of the valley of Tai-pi Vai, and the unparalleled number of remains of temples and feast places in that valley, lead me to believe that if there was such a center there it was Tai-pi Vai. If there were two centers in the Marquesas, this may be the explanation of certain marked variations which are found among the people and their culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement. 174

LATER IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated. 174 167

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[3] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,' had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies. [823] [488]

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[3] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."

> 174 167 More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .
>
> [195 793] Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hino)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was 174
told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between 167
Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

UNITY OF THE GROUP

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian 184
stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and 619
physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local differentiation. 184
Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of [197]
the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we find that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

184 in their individual independence, and speak their dialect loudly and with great energy. On the other hand, the people of the northern section are gentler and less aggressive and their speech is quieter and softer. I had supposed this difference to be due chiefly to the fact that the northern section had been subject to missionary and other foreign influence several generations longer than the southern, until I found that the evidence of some of the earliest visitors indicates the existence of this very difference at the time of the first European contact. Marchand's (22) remarks on this subject are illuminating. This voyager visited the Marquesas in 1790. Speaking of people of the island of Ua Pou, he says:

> They appeared less active, less intelligent than the natives of Santa Christina (Tahuata). Neither have they that belligerent air which evidences a proud and independent character. . . . In the glimpse that we had of them on shore one was much pleased with their peaceable and amicable conduct: different in this way from all the people of the Pacific Ocean, they did not show any inclination to steal; they did not even go so far as to make a request and seemed to forbid themselves even to desire.

Marchand speaks also of the good behavior and gentleness of the people of Nuku Hiva, with whom he came in contact (22, Vol. I, pp. 167-8). That the aggressiveness of the people of the southern section was not a result of the fact that they had been in previous contact with Europeans and had acquired this attitude towards them in soliciting coveted gifts, but rather that it was natural to them is proved by the fact that they exhibited it so markedly toward Mendana's expedition as early as 1595. (25, pp. 16-21.)

The question of differentiation within the group has been considered from the point of view of its being between the northern sections (Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka) and the southern sections (Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva). There is, however, evidence—linguistic, political and perhaps physical—which may indicate that Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva formed a section in which one type was dominant, while eastern Nuku Hiva belonged with the southern section. On the other hand, eastern Nuku Hiva may have constituted a third section by itself.

166 That there was not more differentiation in various parts of the Marquesas is due to several causes. In the first place there was active trade within the group, an exchange of articles of local manufacture. In the second place the political situation shows that tribes, compelled by defeat in war to forsake their own valleys, moved frequently from one part of an island to another and from one island to another. A third and less important circumstance contributing to exchange of articles and ideas is the fact that there was much travelling within the group for adventure and amusement as well as for trade.

On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable 166
evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the 438
people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the 463
best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sec- 166
tions of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not con-
fined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are 823
without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation 166
in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

166 they were defeated in the war with all eastern Hiva Oa furnishes an example of a tribe taking refuge on another island.

There is every reason to believe that there was also peaceable penetration and settlement. This is probably what occurred in Taupo Tua (Taupo, a tribal name, *tua*, back), the section along the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. Investigation shows that this region was settled by the Taupo tribe, a powerful member of the Na-iki group in Vevau, who occupied the section of that great valley lying nearest Taupo Tua, so that they had easier access to the coast by land than could be had from any other part of the island.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

174 The conclusions that have been come to in the above discussion of the peopling of the Marquesas may be briefly summarized as follows: In the thought of the people themselves there is no conception of their forefathers having come to the islands—that is, of their having migrated. There is, however, in genealogies, legends, and chants, indirect evidence that indicates knowledge of lands to the westward in central Polynesia and proves conclusively that the early settlers of the Marquesas were a branch of the people who named the regions in which they lived, Vevau, Fiti, Tona, and so on. The distribution of these names as land names across central Polynesia seems to me to indicate that this was probably the route by which the early settlers of the Marquesas came to their islands. Comparative study of genealogies and traditions with regard to the occurrence of the names of the first settlers leads to the conclusion that the first colonists came about the tenth century; that from that time until the twelfth century was what has been called the early period of settlement; that the time from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries represented a period of later expansion. Evidence from modern informants, legends, sacred chants, and a number of indirect sources indicates that the region on the southern coast of Hiva Oa, including the valleys now called Taha Uku, Atu Ona, Te Hutu, and Ta'a Oa, was the favorable center in which the native culture was nurtured and the indistinctive traits which characterize it throughout the group were developed, and from which the people and their culture expanded. Lastly it was concluded that certain cultural variations in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, which are paralleled by slight physical and temperamental differences in the people of those islands, indicate the presence of another later immigrating group of Polynesian settlers who infused their blood and influences of their culture into the stock and the culture of the settlers already established throughout the group.

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dual Political Divisions

Two great political divisions were anciently recognized on Hiva Oa, 619 the western portion of the island being called Nuku, the eastern, Pepane. In Nuku were included also the islands of Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Nuku, the elder brother, and Pepane, the younger, are believed by the natives to have been the first inhabitants of their respective regions of Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva there was likewise a dual division. Tei'i, traditionally the elder brother, was the ancestor of the western division, while Taipi-nui-a'aku was the ancestor of the people of the eastern division (See 4).

This dual division of the two main islands may be due to the growth 619 and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. 616 The possibility also suggests itself to one's mind that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was dual division into moieties. It is significant that there was a corresponding dual political division on Eastern Island, on Rarotonga, on Niue, and on Hawaii, and probably elsewhere. The original cause and meaning of these dual systems in Polynesia are yet to be determined.

It is evident that, in some of the large valleys of the Marquesas, the 619 population was made up of one large tribe with subdivisions. This was 631 the case in Atu Ona (Vevau) on Hiva Oa, and this is the political situation most commonly found in the large valleys. But in other places an intrusive tribe had pushed in by the sea somewhere or probably more often from the mountains. An example of such intrusion is found in the valley of Huna Menu on Hiva Oa, where it is known that the people of the upper and lower sections of the valley were enemies, and further, that those of the upper section were the friends of the tribes in the upper part of Vevau, which is in close touch with upper Hana Menu by an overland route, while the people of the lower Hana Menu were the enemies of the people of Vevau. The people of Vevau could go into upper Hana Menu with all the assurance of safety that they would feel in their own valley, but to venture into lower Hana Menu meant death. Permanent settlement of one island from another, probably under the urge of war but perhaps for peaceful colonization, is undoubtedly illustrated in Fatu Hiva in five small bays on the southeast coast, which were inhabited by people whose tribal name was Tiu, the name of the great tribe in the valley of Ta'a Oa on Hiva Oa.

Perhaps the best way in which to discuss tribal relationships is to describe what was learned from modern informants in each island. They, unfortunately, remember but little about the principal tribes of the larger

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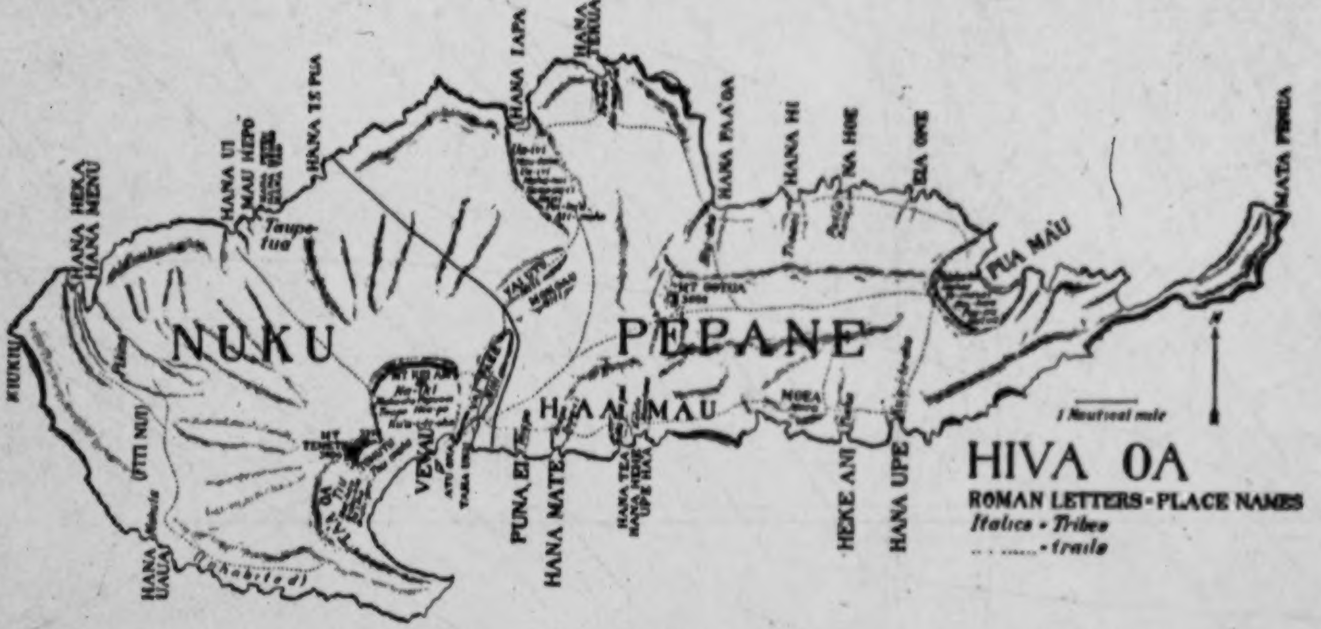
HIVA OA
ROMAN LETTERS = PLACE NAMES
Italics = Tribes
. . .. = trails
1 Nautical mile
NUKU
PEPANE
HAA MAU
KIUKIU
HANA HEKA
HANA MENU
HANA UI
MAU HEPO
HANA TE PUA
Taupe-tua
HANA IAPA
HANA TEKUA
HANA PAA'OA
HANA HI
NA HOE
EIA ONE
PUA MAU
MATA PERUA
(ITI NUI)
HANA UAUA
VEVAU
PUNA EI
HANA MATE
HANA TEA
HANA HEHE
UPE HAA
HEKE ANI
HANA UPE
MT TEMETIU
MT OOTUA

FIGURE 2.—Map of Hiva Oa.

619
valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes 631
of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known in- 621
clusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the 578
Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

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The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

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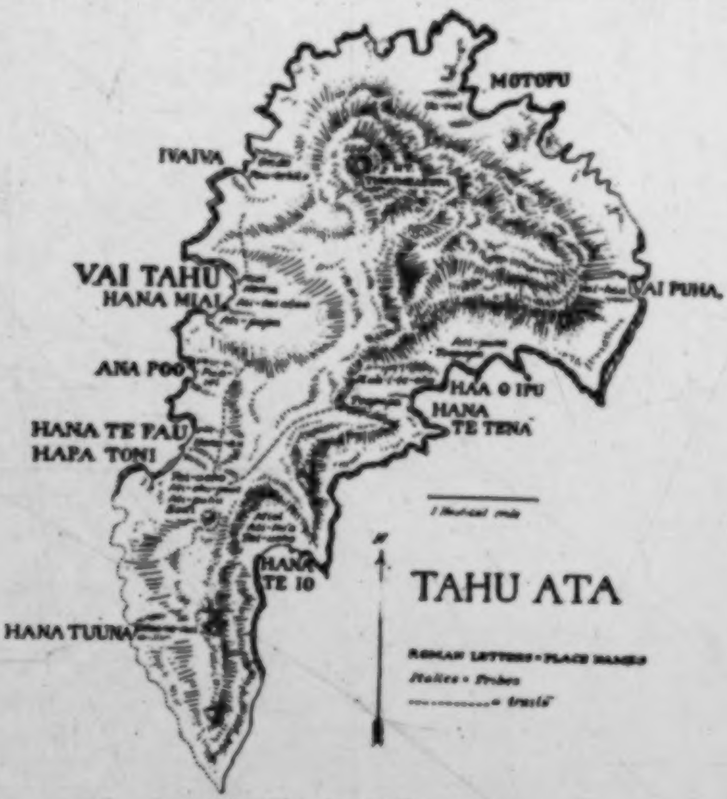
MOTOPU
IVAIVA
VAI TAHU
HANA MIAI
VAI PUHA
ANA POO
HAA O IPU
HANA TE TENA
HANA TE PAU
HAPA TONI
1 Nautical mile
HANA TE IO
TAHU ATA
HANA TUUNA
ROMAN LETTERS = PLACE NAMES
Italics = Tribes
.... = trails

FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai. 621 578

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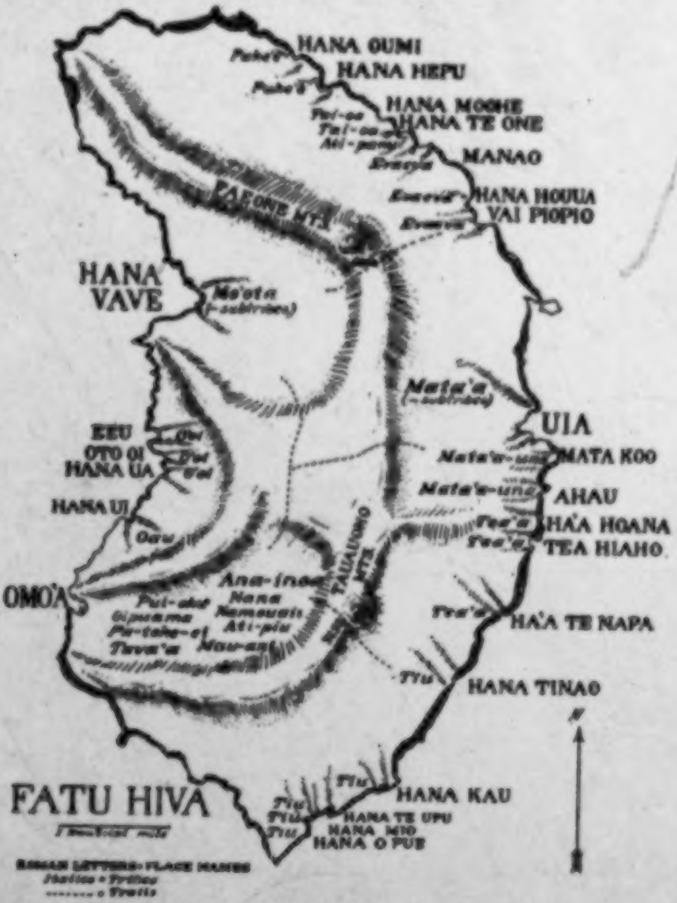
HANA OUMI
HANA HEPU
Puhe'e
Puhe'e
HANA MOOHE
HANA TE ONE
Tai-oa
Tai-oa
Ati-pu
MANAO
HANA HOUUA
VAI PIOPIO
PAEONE MTS
HANA VAVE
Mo'ota (=subtribes)
Mata'a (=subtribes)
UIA
KEU
OTO OI
HANA UA
Ua
Ua
Ua
HANA UI
Gau
MATA KOO
Mata'a-uka
Mata'a-una
AHAU
HA'A HOANA
TEA HIAHO
Tea'a
Tea'a
TAUAUOHO MTS
Ana-inoa
Hana
Namouoia
Ati-piu
OMO'A
Pui-aha
Oipuama
Pa-taha-ei
Tava'a
Moa-ana
Tea'a
HA'A TE NAPA
Tiu
HANA TINAO
N
FATU HIVA
Tiu
Tiu
Tiu
Tiu
HANA KAU
HANA TE UPU
HANA MIO
HANA O PUE
ROMAN LETTERS = PLACE NAMES
Italics = Tribes
.... = Trails

FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

621 578 same people from Eia One to Hana Iapa. In the valley of Pua Ma'u there seems to have been a feud between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the valley.

The Ua-ivi had numerous feuds among themselves, but fought as a whole against the Pa'aha-tai and others of the Pepane division, as well as with this division against Nuku in general, and particularly against the Na-iki. They were the enemies of the Tau-po-tua. The Miti were probably an offshoot of the Ua-ivi. (See fig. 2.)

TAHU ATA (SANTA CHRISTINA)

Tahu Ata was, so to speak, a dependency of Hiva Oa, particularly of the Na-iki, and was included with the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The only information that I obtained regarding local wars and feuds was that the people of Hapa-tone were at war with those of Vai Tahu. (See fig. 3.)

FATU HIVA (MAGDALENA)

Fatu Hiva was also included in the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The Eva-eva were allied with the Ana-inoa, and together, these two were the bitter enemies of the Mata'a and the Mo'ota, who were allies. In one great war, the Mata'a and the Mo'ota were driven to take refuge temporarily at Vai Tahu, Tahu Ata, where they subsequently returned. There were numerous local feuds in Omo'a. The story of Putio recounts a war, in which Putio was allied with Fatu Hiva and the inhabitants of the valley of Heke Ani on Hiva Oa against the inhabitants of the plateau settlement on Hiva Oa, called Mo'ea. (See fig. 4.)

UA HUKA (WASHINGTON ISLAND)

On Ua Huka, the people of Vai Paee were allied with those of Haane against the inhabitants of Hokatu. This island was probably never of great importance. Tradition shows relationship with both Nuku Hiva and northern and eastern Hiva Oa. (See fig. 5.)

UA POU (ADAMS ISLAND)

On the island of Ua Pou, the whole of the western region from Haka he Tau to Haka Tao was at war with the whole of the eastern region from Aneo to Hoho'i. In one of these wars the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti were compelled to flee and take refuge in Tai o Hae whither they subsequently returned. It is interesting that there was one [144] group of people on Ua Pou, those living in Haka Mai'i, who are said never to have fought, because their chiefs did not believe in fighting. Some say that this was also true of the people of Hikeu and of Haka Tao. Another matter of particular interest in connection with Ua Pou is that the only instance of one chief's attaining authority over a whole island

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through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never 621 to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never over- 622 thrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, 631 Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control 578 of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

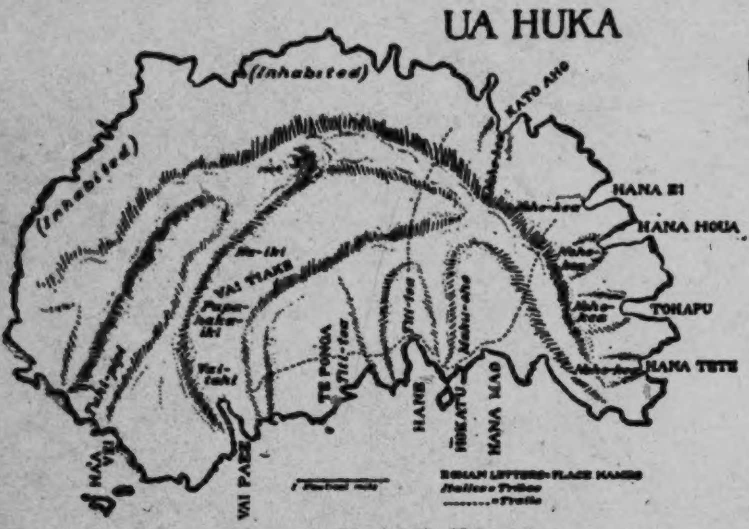
UA HUKA
(Inhabited)
(Inhabited)
KATO AHO
HANA EI
HANA HOUA
TOHAPU
HANA TETE
Na-iki
VAI TIAKE
Papa-haka-iki
TE PONOA
HANE
HIKATU
HANA MAO
VAI PAEE
HAA VEU
1 Nautical mile
ROMAN LETTERS=PLACE NAMES
Italics=Tribes
........=Trails

FIGURE 5—Map of Ua Huka.

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619]

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku 621 and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, 578 allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

621 Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. 578 The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

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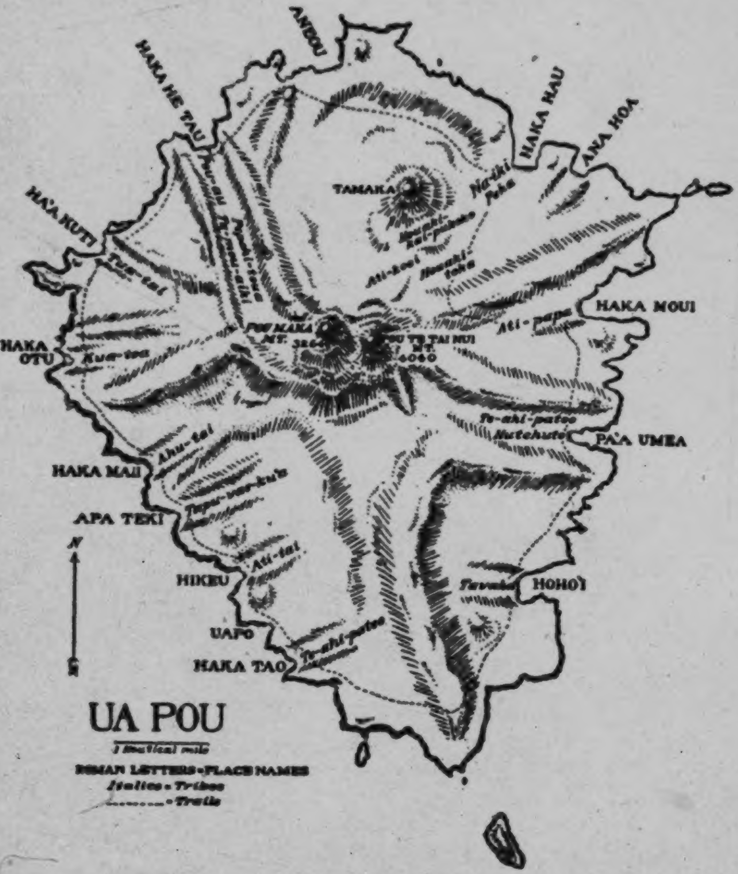
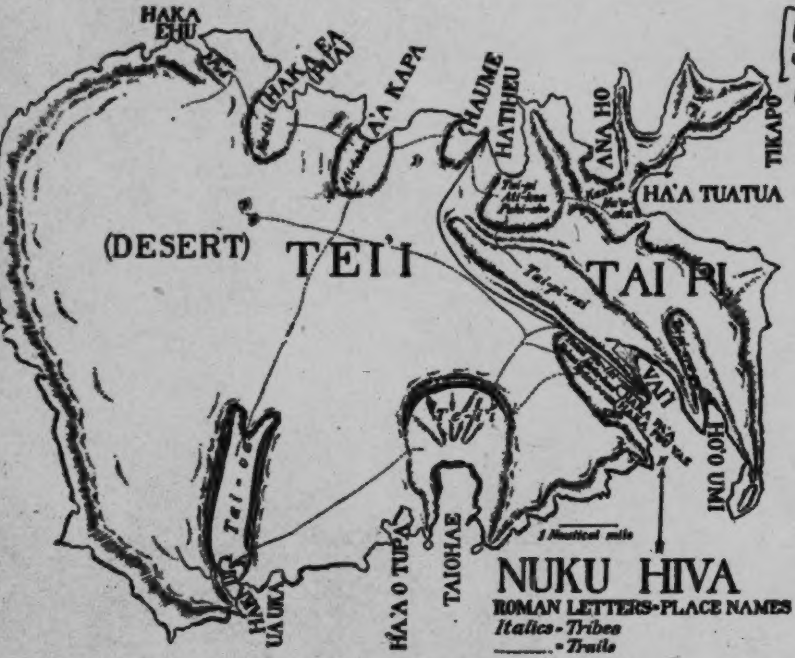

ANIOOU
HAKA HE TAU
HAKA HAU
ANA HOA
HA'A KUTI
TAMAKA
Na-iki Poko
Haka-i-Kai-poiona
Ati-koui
Naaki toko
Tue-tai
Puu-au
Pumai-tene
Nei-aiki
HAKA MOUI
Ati-papa
HAKA OTU
Kua-tea
POI HAKA MT. 3264
POU TE TAI NUI MT. 4040
Te-ahi-patoe
Hutehute
PA'A UMEA
Ahu-tai
HAKA MAII
Tapu-vae-ku'a
APA TEKI
N
Ati-tai
HIKEU
Tevaka
HOHO'I
UAPO
Te-ahi-patoe
HAKA TAO
S
UA POU
1 Nautical mile
ROMAN LETTERS = PLACE NAMES
Italics = Tribes
.... = Trails

Figure 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of 621 578


HAKA EHU
HAKA EA
PUA
A'A KAPA
HAUMI
HATIHEU
ANA HO
TIKAPO
HA'A TUATUA
(DESERT)
TEI'I
TAI PI
Tai-pi-vai
VAI'I
HO'O UMI
Tai-o-a
Tei'i
HAKAUI
UA UKA
HA'A O TUPA
TAIOHAE
1 Nautical mile
NUKU HIVA
ROMAN LETTERS-PLACE NAMES
Italics-Tribes
———-Trails

[133
487
619]

FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

UNINHABITED ISLANDS

361 Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the [172] evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden [766] images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have [773] much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited [778] this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[8] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[8] A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were 619
single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a
number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was 621
no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage.

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, 622
the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; 631
in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority
of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes 184
that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes.

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple 622
democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government
on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed 621
that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224):

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

> 621 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all
> 622 kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to
[622] function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses. Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also
793 spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono*
554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mataei-nana*, which may best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was
554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front
574 of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social
565 position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment 554
of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The 565
factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their [562]
being (not *tapu)*, and because of their physical limitations, were incapable
of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception 565
of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who 622
settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu (papa,* level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki.* In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu;* while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana,* the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike*
(po'i, people; *tiketike,* high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and [582]
papa haka-te-pe'iu were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married
with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

565 622 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called handsome. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa [164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a),* the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa),* chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono).* These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and 554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

554 [571] the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth.

The word ***mata-ei-nana*** signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the ***vai-noa*** (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called ***i'ino*** or ***kikino*** (mean), ***tupepaka*** or ***tupenoa*** (insignificant), and ***maunoa***. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

882 In the social order the term ***ka'ioi*** was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms ***mahai*** and ***poko'ehu***, youth and maid. ***Ka'ioi*** signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. ***Ka'ioi*** were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society.

883 302 The mark of a ***ka'ioi***, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron ***(ena)***. In discussing ***ka'ioi***, a native said to me, ***"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"*** (without saffron, there is no such thing as ***ka'ioi***). The loin cloth ***(hami)*** of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked ***ena***. The loin cloth ***(eu'eu)*** and robe ***(kahu)*** of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces ***(hei)*** made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the ***ka'ioi*** was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. [533 882] ***Uta*** and ***komumu***, love songs, and erotic songs called ***hioo***, were those which they sang particularly.

883 836 During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence

883 836 something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says (10, p. 361) that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.

This conventional, free period of adolescence makes easily comprehensible the custom which led girls to swim to the ships of early visitors and give themselves freely to their crews. A girl at this age was expected to seek the attention of men. With the arrival of ships loaded with those seeking just what the girl had to offer, there would inevitably result just what occurred: native girls giving themselves freely, and the white men enjoying the satisfaction of his desires, but bringing back to his world an account of the natives as totally depraved, sexual animals. Old residents have described to me the reception on Nuku Hiva of a whole whaleboat crew of visitors from Ua Pou by a single girl. It seems possible that the offering of hospitality in this way to outsiders may have been a convention similar to that in Samoa which brought about the institution of the village
[574] hostess. Krusenstern in speaking of the advances made by Nuku Hiva girls to his European crew says (16, p. 133) that the people who stood around approved in the highest degree of the grimaces of the girls, who appeared to have been called upon to play this part.

883 [184] It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart (26) speaks of the *ka'ioi* of Nuku Hiva in this way:

> There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions (p. 233). The singers by profession called kaioi are the poets

and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). 883 Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says:

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

883 304 The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and particularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au*, including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting.

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. [597 593] This informant further explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi*, because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi*.

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

883 as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating
[71] themselves with *ena*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

621 The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public.
[361] Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. 621
Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone plat- [342]
form, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing
food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment 621
was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was 622
larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on 778
a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his
attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone plat-
form; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for
canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding plat-
forms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the
times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated
with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,*
an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the [515]
sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually ele- 778
vated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged
to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted
of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is
a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the
tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,*
which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes
consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not
be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred
places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the
canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept.
These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were
houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites
of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were
associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, 619
and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to
have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. 621
Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or
feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as
head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in
relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as
influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had
almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of
the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property
of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the
people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

619 621 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 554 593 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, respectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo,* or *hamua),* who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki.* The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o tė haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 554 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki,* and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu,* chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki.* She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki.* Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki,* the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu,* sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for chief and chiefess are ***haka-iki*** (literally(made-chief) and ***ha'a-te-pe'iu*** or ***haka-te-pe'iu*** (literally, made-chiefess). The elaborate ceremonials for elevating chiefs in sacredness and power, during life and after death, furnish additional evidence that, in the Marquesas, chiefs were originally raised to their position and not born to it. All natives, whether chiefs or commoners, came of the same stock, according to their own genealogies. Even in these northern islands, where there was some development of this institution, the relationship of chief to his people was practically as democratic as that in the south. The chief's position in relationship to his people will therefore be discussed on this basis, which may be taken as the political relationship of chief to people that was typical in the Marquesas as a whole. 622 554

MANNER OF BECOMING A CHIEF

In general it appears that a chief arrived at his position of authority through social prestige and power resultant upon being the head of a large and wealthy family, allied with other powerful families by means of affiancing, marriage, adoption, and by making namesakes. It was explained to me once by a Tahu Ata woman that a chief was one that was the head of a family whose members were very numerous and could perform much work for him. The power and authority of a chief depended much also on his individual characteristics—personality, intelligence, initiative, and so on. The actual relationship between the chief and his people was that of the head of a family to the other members of the family, and the relationship of the people among themselves was that of members of a large family. The political system may best be characterized as a patriarchal communism. [642] The chief referred to his people as his ***hua'a,*** the same term as that used for blood and foster relatives; and the people of a tribe referred to the other members of the same tribe as ***hua'a.*** ***Tama,*** literally child, meant also subject (8). The power of chiefs in relationship to each other depended, of course, on character to some extent, but primarily upon the size of their tribe, upon wealth, and favorable tribal alliances..

Garcia (14, p. 101) says that in meetings of chiefs it was quantity of territory, number of supporters, and occasionally valor or some religious power, which singled out particular individuals (whom he likes to dub "kings"). I never obtained any evidence of genuine, religious authority or function on the part of a chief in the Marquesas. Such authority came to him through the tribal inspirational priest who was in some tribes but not in all related by blood to him.

Discussion of the matter in different valleys brought out the fact that usually the chief did not himself go to war, although he sometimes did.

622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

THE CHIEF'S DOMESTIC ESTABLISHMENT

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

THE CHIEF'S FAMILY

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fafi tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on 622
which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who 592
could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which
one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that 624
came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi*, Krusenstern says (16, p. 167):

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was 622
done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of 592
circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. Ac- 357
cording to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (liv- or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief
needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants [689]
to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed.

622 592 357 689 For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a,* which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. 592 622 357 At Pua Ma'u the relationship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka,* skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana,* and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoano* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto.* Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by 592
the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth 622
and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives 357
made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also
planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family
aided the chief in directing tribal affairs.

ETIQUETTE

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief 622
with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were 576
always addressed as *haka-iki,* or *ha'a-te-pe'iu.* For example, "*o au nei, tu u haka-iki*" (It is I, my chief) or, "*Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka!*" (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, "*Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu*" (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki,* the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a,* signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense.

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his
house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not
accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not [184]
allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu.*
This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various
aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku
Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which
produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in con- [171]
nection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the
elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii.

DRESS AND INSIGNIA

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as 622
other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth 292
and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo,* a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki,* first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i,* a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun-

622 singly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black 292 hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. [304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

FAMILY ALLIANCES

622 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another 582 chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in [428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Mar- 582 quesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that 171 children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, [847 848] nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will 600
be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate 622
the purity of descent. 582

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was [621]
through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected
with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating
the relationship.

INHERITANCE

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance 622
of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the 428
first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however,
inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the
reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to
adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede
his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A [593]
chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon
the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or
tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity;
but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded
the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family
or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points
that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward
regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in
Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were
regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock.
That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I
believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position.
It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely
to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family
stock.

PERSONAL TAPU

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection 622
with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head 784
being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but
likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything
profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both [184]
chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou,
but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people
concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says [689
that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*, 754]

622
784 witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person
[689 who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—par-
754] ticularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected
[562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power
[689 to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu*
754] was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing [illegible] offender.

No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far 622 as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god.

RÔLE OF THE CHIEF IN TRIBAL WORSHIP

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what 622 may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so 789 on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as 831 the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief.

ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS

AUTHORITY OF THE CHIEF

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth 622 and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal [556] factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might becone a *mohomoho,* a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of

622 chiefs except over their own households. The evidence of early visitors varies as regards the authority of chiefs. Krusenstern (16, p. 165) supports this:

> I have already had occasion to mention that the form of government is any thing rather than monarchical; the king is not to be distinguished either by his dress or by his ornaments from the lowest of his subjects: they laugh at his orders, and should he venture to strike any one, he would infallibly meet with a like return.

Porter (24, p. 98) says:

> As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children.

Melville, on the other hand, was impressed with the personal authority of the chiefs in Tai-pi Vai during his residence. He writes (23, p. 217):

> During the festival I had not failed to remark the simplicity of manner, the freedom from all restaint, and, to a certain degree, the equality of condition manifested by the natives in general. No one appeared to assume any arrogant pretensions. There was little more than a slight difference in costume to distinguish the chiefs from the other natives. All appeared to mix together freely, and without any reserve; although I noticed that the wishes of a chief, even when delivered in the mildest tone, received the same immediate obedience which elsewhere would have been only accorded to a peremptory command.

When Melville arrived he was also made to feel the personality of the chief. He says (23, p. 74):

> Close to where we lay . . . were some eight or ten noble-looking chiefs . . . . who, more reserved than the rest, regarded us with a fixed and stern attention, which not a little discomposed our equanimity. One of them in particular, who appeared to be the highest in rank, placed himself directly facing me; locking at me with a rigidity of aspect under which I absolutely quailed. He never once opened his lips, but maintained his severe expression of countenance, without turning his face aside for a single moment. Never before had I been subjected to so strange and steady a glance; it revealed nothing of the mind of the savage, but it appeared to be reading my own.

Melville's whole account would indicate a strict obedience to their chief on the part of the people. It seems probable that in Taiohae at the time it was visited by Porter, Stewart, and Krusenstern, there were chiefs who were capable of wielding little personal authority. The general attitude of old Hiva Oa natives in discussing chiefs indicates a strong individualistic spirit of freedom but at the same time a definite respect for and appreciation of the authority of a *haka-iki*.

[171] One thing which prevented chiefs of the Marquesas from assuming such arbitrary power as was held by those of Tahiti and Hawaii was the fact that in the Marquesas chiefs were invested with neither the sacredness nor the religious prestige that would support such authority. It is

evident that the inspirational priest *(tau'a)* was usually a member of the same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the *tau'a*. 622

In communal enterprise, whether work, war, or feasting, the chief nominally determined what should be done and when. The actual planning, organization, and execution were, however, accomplished by the administrative and industrial *tuhuna* under him. It was explained to me once that the chief knew nothing about the organization of industries, great festivals, and the like, but that his was the wealth which enabled him to employ those who did know. I have evidence, however, which shows that some chiefs, at least, took an active part in directing labor. For work of a less important character than that of organized industries and festivals, the chief summoned workers by blowing his shell trumpet or sending a *tuhuna* to secure them.

PROFESSIONALS AND EXECUTIVES

The administration of tribal affairs was of the most informal and unorganized type. Assistants of the chief, who attended to and supervised the execution of his orders were called *tuhuna* (*tuhuka*). *Tuhuna* may be said to have constituted a unit in the social order, a professional group, all kinds being included in the *papa tuhuna (papa,* level). There were certain *tuhuna* whose duties were entirely executive; there were others who were professionals—master-craftsmen, lorists, artists—who functioned also in the political, social, and religious system of the tribe. In other words, there were administrative *tuhuna* and industrial *tuhuna*. Both, as a class, aided the chief politically. 624

In the story of Kae, a chief when considering a declaration of war called together his own *tuhuna* as a council, and then, following their advice, sent out messengers to neighboring tribes to summon the *tuhuna* of the other valleys to an intertribal council. According to this story all the *tuhuna* (meaning here executive *tuhuna)* of the Nuku division of Hiva Oa assembled. They were told by the local chief of his plans for war and they agreed to aid him, returning home to prepare their people. What is particularly worthy of notice in this incident is: first, the calling of an intertribal council; and second, the fact that it was not the chiefs of neighboring valleys who were summoned to a council, but the *tuhuna*. 721 624

In matters of importance to the tribe as a whole, such as war, the main source of guidance to which a chief turned was his *tau'a*, the inspi- 793 624

793 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes
624 at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the
proper course that should be pursued.

COUNCILS

623 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils.
793 Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the
important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in
622 the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated.
These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

PERSONAL RETALIATION

627 For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the
recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by super-
[628] natural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes
were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence
[674] indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was
more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by
[784] his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of
the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

protection of property was generally by supernatural means through a 627
spell or by making the property *tapu* in one way or another, such as by 784
giving it a sacred name.

PROPERTY

OWNERSHIP BY THE CHIEF

In approaching the discussion of ownership of land, it will be necessary 622
to reconsider for a moment the relationship of the chief to his people. 423
The tribe was like the family of the chief: they were all relatives by birth, adoption, marriage or friendly alliance. This simile is not my own but comes from native informants. Natives also speak of all land as being owned in the ancient times by the chief. It seems, therefore, that one is justified in carrying the simile further and in saying that the land on which the tribe lived was owned by the chief in the same way that with us family property is legally owned by the head of the family. This was evidently the original conception. It would be the conception that would logically grow out of the native cosmogony, according to which land and people and chief were growths of one and the same stock. But evidence goes to show that in the later phase of the history of the Marquesas certainly much of the tribal land, and probably most of it, had come to be regarded as the private property of the chief of the tribe. But a definite, lingering conception of the land's belonging to the tribe is evidenced by the fact that if one asks today to whom belonged such and such a tract of land or valley, the reply is usually the name of the tribe that lived on it and not the name of an individual. Melville's description of his impressions of conditions in Tai-pi suggests that land ownership there was more or less communistic.

Discussion of this matter in Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva, and Hiva Oa showed, however, that there was what may be characterized as a rudimentary feudal system, under which the chief allotted sections of land to individuals or families and received in return a part of the produce and service in war and industry. Such allotments were proportional to the importance of the individual family in the tribal group. The chief could take back allotments, but customarily, the right to tenant them descended to the first-born whether son or daughter. The whole arrangement was not regular. A landed proprietor was called *anati'a* (cf. Tahitian *raatira,* Maori *rangatira).* Frequently land rights were acquired not by allotment from the chief but by a family's settling itself where it could do so without encroaching on the land of anyone else or by an individual's planting taro, breadfruit, or coconut where there was an unoccupied spot favorable for the culture. A family when once established on a piece of land had the

423 primary right to it, not because it was regarded as owning the land itself,
622 but by reason of prior occupation and use. The individual owned his
[422] house, his plantations of taro and paper mulberry, his breadfruit, coconut
and banana trees, and the pigs and chickens that ran about his house.
Land which no one had occupied or used was free.

Stewart's account of the information he received on Nuku Hiva would indicate a more formal institution of private ownership than I was led to believe existed. He says (26, p. 253):

> All the land, with the growth upon it, is hereditarily possessed by the higher orders, civil and religious, the chiefs, warriors, prophets, priests, and their assistants, the boundaries of the respective domains of each being accurately defined and well known.

The account of several incidents that occurred in the valley of Atu Ona on Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, furnishes some of the best evidence I have of the absolute ownership of property by chiefs and the ability on the part of a chief to do with land what pleased him:

> A chief named Punitoa owned the foot of Atu Ona valley and the *tohua* [feast place] of Pekia. It was necessary for the up-valley people to ask his permission when they wanted to fish. Two pregnant women who lived at the head of the valley asked their husbands to get a certain kind of small fish for them. One of the husbands went down to the sea by way of Caledonia point, avoiding the village and not asking the chief's permission. The other went to the chief's house and, it being the middle of the night, awakened him to ask permission to fish, explaining the circumstances. The chief was so pleased at the courtesy that he said: "Bring your wife here and I will give the child all my land." Pekia thus became the property of the child.
>
> Pekia at one time belonged to a chief named Puatautau. The chief was an old man, and his two sons neglected him. They would go fishing and not bring him anything when they got back, giving it all to the young women. There was a poor man in the valley who used to bring the chief food regularly, giving him the best he had. At last one day, the chief said to him: "Tomorrow morning early dress in your best clothes and come to Puatahi." (Apparently the name of the *paepae* of the chief's house, connected with the *tohua.)* The commoner did as he was told and came at dawn. The chief had climbed to Pou Au, and from there he called to the commoner: "Come up a little." The commoner climbed for a while and slipped. The chief called again: "Come up a little. Come up until I can see you." The commoner then climbed until the chief could see him. Then the chief said: "From here to the sea is *Topekia* (name of the chief's head). I give it all to you." The chief then left and went to Hana Menu. His sons, who had been disowned, were very angry and went to see him, asking him why he had given the land away. The ex-chief said he had given it as *ko'oha* (gift) for the food the commoner had given him day after day. After that the poor man was chief, and the former chief's sons were commoners. A similar incident is said to have happened in Hana Menu.

[764] An incident in the legend of Ono furnishes evidence that the skullpit, which was the central feature of the *me'ae* of the chief, the depository of

the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which 423
the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to 622
who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority [764]
by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other
chief in the local sacred place.

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that
which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an [721]
example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent,
by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The
first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was [251]
partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers;
but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits
as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits
maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the [226]
chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up
his tribe.

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

TEMPORARY RESTRICTIONS (KAHUI)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had 421
the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. 622
A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able
to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was 784
necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals
when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food
supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place
the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or
on all of them if need be.

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple.
I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

421
784

I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites. *Kahui* on smaller bits of property were signified by signs of certain kinds attached to the objects restricted. They were laid by means of the rite called *ko'aho,* which was performed by the *tuhuna ko'aho.* This accomplished the enforcement of the *kahui* by supernatural means. The custom of indicating restriction by means of *kahui* signs still persists in the islands. A coconut *kahui* was observed and photographed in the valley of Hana Upe on Hiva Oa. (See fig. 8.) A pole about six feet long was erected on a deserted house platform. To the pole, at a point about four feet from the ground, was attached a bunch of twigs of some bush, the leaves of which were dried and red. Immediately below this bunch of brush hung two coconuts, the sign that this was the fruit that was being reserved. On the island of Ua Huka when a man wishes to place an *ahui* on a tree, he ties a coconut leaf vertically on the trunk; on a breadfruit tree he ties a breadfruit leaf similarly; and on a banana tree, a banana leaf. A certain man owns property by the sea in the bay of Haane. Desiring once to place an *ahui* on octopus, he erected on the shore a pole to which was attached a coconut leaf. It is my belief that these modern *kahui* are not in the minds of the people supported by supernatural means, as were those in ancient times, but that the custom is

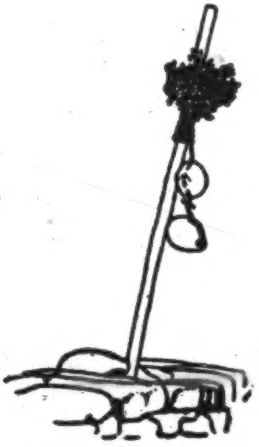

FIGURE 8.—*Kahui* sign. Drawing made from a photograph.

merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man. 421 784

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

PERSONAL PROPERTY

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions. 422

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived. 342 [552] [356]

THE SLEEPING HOUSE

342 The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a
513 stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or pro-
[417] jecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front
section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform,
in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces
of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers
were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a
storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The
doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man
574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates
576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the
red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving,
the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above
his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down
on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This
was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach
513 boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between 352 the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), [778] sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently [764] an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs [342] that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels [354] of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

THE FATA'A

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a* 342 *moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, 784 the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members [251] of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according [417] to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with 284 sennit.

342 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku
Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also
784 those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford
such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

THE COOK HOUSE

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with
coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with
252 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically.
372 The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[415
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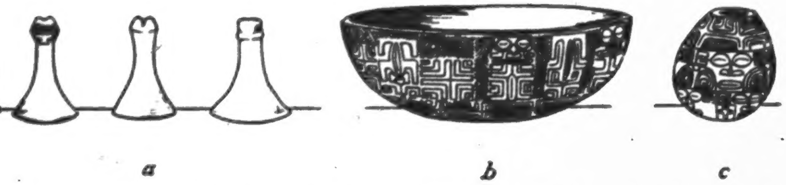

FIGURE 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi*, long bundles of coconut
sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time.
[415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of
two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

There was always a large, thick, and slightly hollowed, board *(hoana)* on which the breadfruit was pounded. The pounding was done with stone pounders *(ke'a tuki popoi)* of the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 9, *a*). Mr. Linton distinguishes four types of pounders: salt pounders, children's pounders, those used for the breadfruit paste, and those for infants' food. A full account of these and of the different types of bowls and containers used by the natives will be found in Mr. Linton's study of the material culture. The smaller vessels were made of coconut shell; the larger ones, of wood, fau, breadfruit, casuarina, *temanu*, and *mi'o*, the last named being the best and most commonly used. A large stone bowl *(ipu ke'a)* was seen at Pua Ma'u, but stone was not commonly

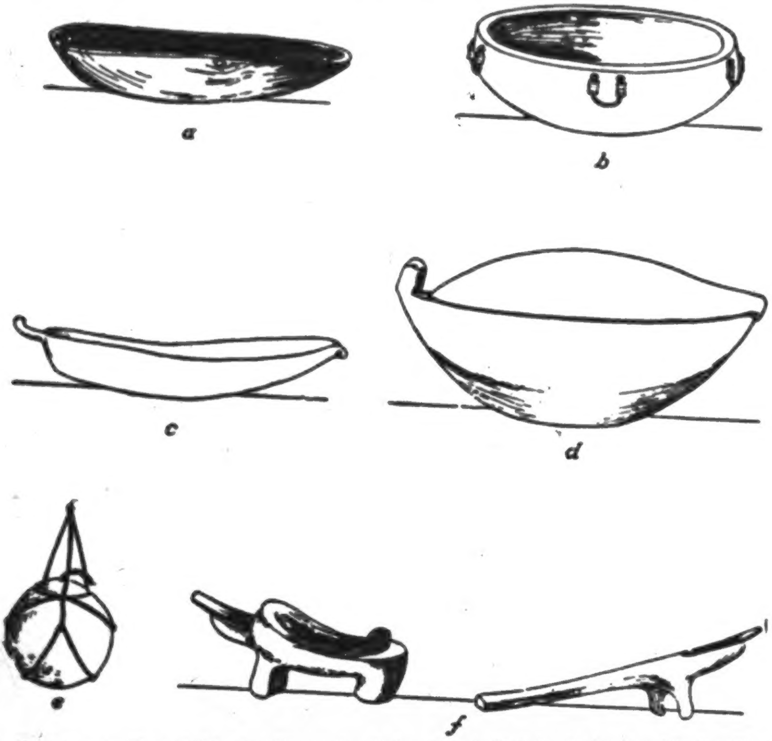

FIGURE 10.—Household utensils: *a*, bowl for *popoi* (*toto*); *b*, bowl with *handles*; *c*, kava bowl (elongated scoop form); *d*, kava bowl (bird form); *e*, gourd container (*hue*) in a net; *f*, types of coconut graters (*feka*).

415 used for bowls or mortars. Wood and coconut shell vessels were carved with the types of design shown in the accompanying sketches (fig. 9, *b* and *c*.) Drinking cups for water and kava were of coconut shell. Small food bowls were called generically *ipu* or *kipu*, different sizes and forms having many specific names. Large quantities of *popoi* for feasts were put in very large round bowls (*toto*) (fig. 10, *a*) of *temanu* wood, some of them four feet in diameter, or in long, canoe-shaped troughs. Between the very large bowls and the small ones, there ranged all sizes. Knoblike handles, carved from human bone or made of a large smooth nut, were attached to the sides of the bowls with sennit cords passed through holes in the bowl (fig. 10, *b*). For kava there were two types of containers (*tahaha, tanoa,* or *kotue)* used, one like an elongated scoop with a pointed end from which the *kava* was poured (fig. 10, *c*), the other roughly copying the form of a bird and having a lid. (See fig. 10, *d*.) Small containers (*hue*) with covers *(tifa)* were made of large coconut shells and gourds *(hue mao'i)* and suspended on the beams of the house by means of small nets woven around the body of the vessel (fig. 10, *e*). Water was kept in large gourds *(hue)* or large bamboos *(kohe)*, the joints of which, with the exception of the one at the bottom, had been rammed through on the inside. Graters for coconut *(feke)* were made by lashing to a stick supported on legs, a piece of pearl shell, one edge of which was chipped or filed into small saw-teeth (fig. 10, *f*). Another type of grater (*iku*), made of the [237] tail of the ray fish, was used for grating amomum root *(ena)*. According to Mr. Linton, sharks' fins were also used for graters. Strips of bamboo, sharks' teeth, and shells were used for knives *(kohe)*. Besides these implements and utensils used in connection with cooking and eating, small [352] nets, fishing rods, and the like were hung under the roof and on the beams and posts of the cook house. A pointed stick *(ko)*, set in the ground, served to husk coconuts.

THE SACRED PLACE

778 The family sacred place was either a small *tapu* enclosure or a small, high platform (the *taha tupapa'u)* in which or on which temporary houses and shrines or altars were erected in connection with birth and death ceremonial. These were always in close proximity to the sleeping house, and hence were an integral part of the establishment. On Hiva Oa, there was a shed on a small but high, stone platform *(taha tupapa'u)*, but on Nuku Hiva the enclosed place with a temporary shed appears to have been common. At times of ritual, such as the treatment of a dead body, or the erection of the temporary altars in honor of children, these temporary sheds were decorated with cloth as a sign of *tapu*. Images were

a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, 778 p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows:

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae.*

OTHER ADJUNCTS TO DWELLINGS

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)* 351 —a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking.

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees be- [231 longing to different members of the family and small enclosures in which 241] were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas 601 was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8).

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If [581 she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his 584] *vehine tuia. Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine,* and according to native convention he [607 had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the con- 837] sent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine,* in its broadest translation, meant simply woman.

601 A woman called her more or less permanent mate *ahana (vahana* or *vahaka);* but she also applied the term, specifically, to his brothers and to her sisters' husbands, and, in a general sense, to all the men of marriageable age in the tribe. *Ahana* meaning part or half of anything, did not, however, mean man or male in a general sense but definitely husband.

A man called his wife's brothers and sisters' husbands *toete;* a woman applied the same term to her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. That is to say, for a man *toete* meant brother-in-law; for a woman, sister-in-law. A man called both his wife's parents *motunoai,* and they called him *hunona,* and so, likewise, with a woman and her husband's parents. *Toupu'una* was a term mutually applied to each other by parents-in-law. *Pekio* described men who came as secondary husbands of a woman, or women who were secondary wives of a man. (See Marriage.) Thus *ahana pekio,* secondary husband; *vehine pekio,* secondary wife. The *ahana pekio* was called also *tahu ahi,* because he tended the fire of the proprietor of the establishment. The same terms were used for step-parents and step-children as for true parents and children.

Sisters were *tuehine* to a male, brothers were *tunane (tukane, tu'ane)* to a female. *Tuaana (tuakana)* meant older brothers for a male, older sisters for a female; *teina* signified younger in the same sense. The same terms used between brothers and sisters were applied also to first cousins. But *tuaana* was applied specifically to cousins of the same sex who were children of a father's or mother's younger brother or younger sister. *Tua'ana kui* meant mother's older sister; *teina motua* meant father's younger brother. These terms evidence the strict regard for priority in genealogical descent, which extended even to this degree in personal relationship. Dordillon gives *küitohe* and *kopatia* as meaning younger brother or sister.

The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in
the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every
[604] child and the father's sisters *(tuehine)* and brothers-in-law *(toete)* and the
mother's brothers *(tunane)* and sisters-in-law *(toete),* all of whom were
called by the child his *pahupahu.* They in turn spoke of the child as their
i'amutu. Male and female *i'amutu* were distinguished as *i'amutu tama*
and *i'amutu mo'i.* Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*
was closer than that between parents and children. While one was not
[587?] allowed to marry the child of one's father's brother or mother's sister,
the most approved marriage that could be made was with the child of one's
pahupahu. The wife or husband of one's *i'amutu* was also called *i'amutu.*
No special term applicable to cousins who were children of *pahupahu* was

found, the same terms as for other first cousins being used—that is, the terms for brothers and sisters. 601

Grandparents were called *tupuna (tupuna ahana,* grandfather; *tupuna vehine,* grandmother). All old people and ancestors in general were referred to as *tupuna.* Great-grandparents were *peka,* great-great-grandparents, *hina* or *hina tau,* and great-great-great-grandparents, *peka hina.* These terms applied also to great-uncles, great-aunts, and so on. Grandchildren were *moupuna* or *toupuna* (*moupuna tama,* grandson, and *moupuna mo'i,* granddaughter). The same term was applied generally to descendants, also to grandchildren-in-law, great-nephews, and nieces. Dordillon (8) gives *tu'o'i te pe'a* for grandchildren or descendants. Great-grandchildren were *peka, hinatu, tu'o'i, tu'o'i te hina* (8) or *maveka* (8). Great-great-grandchildren were *hina;* great-great-great-grandchildren, *peka hina.*

Pakeke indicated a collateral relationship between persons who were, as natives express it, linked by three persons (*e tou enata.*) Thus *motua pakeke* was the term used for the first cousins of one's father (one's cousins once removed), one's father, father's father, father's father's brother, for example, being the three persons linking one with such a first cousin once removed. *Toupu'una* signified a collateral relationship between persons linked by four persons *(e fa enata).* Thus second cousins were called *toupu'una,* there standing between the two, for example, a father, a father's father, a father's father's brother, and a father's father's brother's son. The reason for the use of *toupu'una* to designate the relationship between parents-in-law is not apparent.

In common parlance a foster parent, child, or other relative, was referred 601
to as though he or she were a blood relative, but the foster relationship was 597
more strictly specified by placing one or the other of the following adjectives, signifying adoption, after the usual relationship term: *tafai,* literally, to feed, the most common term; also *to'o,* to take; *maohi,* to seize or take; and *hopu,* to embrace or take. Dordillon (8) gives *mataautea* as meaning foster child. *Motua tafai* would mean foster father; *mo'i tafai,* foster daughter.

Age classes were referred to by the following terms: *toiki (to'i'i, poti'i* 601
or *potiki, po'iti)* were little children up to about the age of six. There
was no term meaning infant or baby; *tama,* children of both sexes from 561
birth up to adolescence; *tama oa,* boy, *mo'i* or *paho'e,* girl, *mahai;* an adolescent youth and *pokoehu,* an adolescent girl; *ahana,* males of virile age; and *vehine,* women of reproductive age; *ko'o'ua,* old men and *pa'afi'o (pakafi'o, pa'ahi'o),* old women.

601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age ***vehine***—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 604 605 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

582 604 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 835 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations, rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters 608
nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction 582
by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating
in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as 602
tapu or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in 784
which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also
the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands 831
of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, 841
in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were 844
contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is
the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved 582
type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her 843
unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

> 843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua*, prevented from entering the house with a person and [776] so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time [343] sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina*, which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina*. Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, [759] because of the *tapu* on blood. If she had no female relatives, she was left alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be 844 delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed [753] to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to 846 the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a [262] woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to 833 one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and 846 cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had [841] sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BIRTH

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother an- 851 nounced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as "*To'u moupuna te tama oa.*" (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

851
[622] the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

846 For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
262 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
853 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk.
854 Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made
by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut
[278] milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry
sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before
suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come
out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very
early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation
of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means
of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its
skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest
[602] to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to
the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

BIRTH FEAST

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852 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

ERECTION OF SHRINE FOR CHILD

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u. 852

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods. [853]

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *vai ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it. 854

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers. 853

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them. 854 304

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who 854 753

854

753 For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who
[262] had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley.
Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought
[755 the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves
824] and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 [769] The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories
[539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure 858 539
of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize 858
the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and 852
provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a
first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell [622
trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This 851]
uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea
water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch- [415]
shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at
his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to
strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the [783]
child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the cere-
mony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth
its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later
a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the
consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a
sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in
the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his [769]
childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memo-
rial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits
in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was [589]
formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which con- 858
stituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a 881
festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional [869]
bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy,
and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and [304]
when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly
undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken.
This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival
in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung
in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly
there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born
of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle
of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would
honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son [765]
attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his
family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts
designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history
of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

562 Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls,
852 who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there
858 was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi.*
881 The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was
[584] also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was
tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls
[304] who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

THE FA'E KAHA RITE

852 The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as
858 those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

and the child was passed in and out through it. This was done for a 852
month and then the child was carried to the sacred place *(ahu)* to be consecrated. 858
The large and small drums were beaten, the conch-shell *(putoka)* was blown to let the people know that it was the consecration of a new chief. The child was clothed with a loin cloth made of banyan bark and a hair ornament *(hami ouoho),* after which he was brought to the house door, and the loin cloth was removed. Thereafter, the child could enter by the door.

PROVISION FOR THE FIRST-BORN

Soon after the birth of his first-born son, a father planted for him breadfruit, banana, and coconut trees, paper mulberry trees for making cloth for his loins. The father also began to raise pigs for the child and constructed by the stream a bathing basin *(vai ke'etu),* enclosed with cut stone slabs, restricted to the use of the *tama tapu.*

For the male first-born of a chief or man of wealth, a new dwelling 852
was built. (See House-building.) The composition of a special song and 858
a feast marked the consecration of this new house. The feast was called *ko'ina u'utina fa'e,* feast at the time of entering the house, or *ko'ina fa'e* 342
ha'ame'ie, feast for removing the *tapu* from a house [*ha'a me'ie,* to release from *tapu* (from *ha'a,* to make and *me'ie,* clear)] When the first child was born or even before, the new house, the *fa'e ta'ina no te tama* (house to hold the child, child's dwelling) was begun. Coincident with beginning of work on the house by the house builder *(tuhuna hakatu fa'e),* a composer of the chants, called *pope (tuhuna pope),* began the composition of a *pope tapu,* or sacred chant for the house. Near the father's house a special shelter *(oho au pope)* was built in which the *tuhuna* composed the chant and taught it to those who were to sing it. The *pope* was completed at the same time as was the child's new dwelling. The house completed, the men went to catch fish, some for the ceremonial priest who was to officiate and some for the people at the feast. The house was decorated for its consecration, and then all the family assembled.

The priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* then mounted the platform accompanied by the eldest member of the family and a paternal aunt of the child, each carrying a leaf of *papamo'o* fern *(Polypodium phymitodes).* The priest then recited the *pu'e no te fa'e* (creation chant for the house). This chant or spell began with an account of the earliest stages of the land's growth and ended by summoning the personifications of the different materials used in the house to contribute their parts. The spell "bound" the new house and all its parts to original creation, thus consecrating it, making the work complete. (See Chants, *Pue.*) This rite made the house *me'ie*

952 (clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon
858 the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was
said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the
342 food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

852 This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in
858 the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

INSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST-BORN

958 The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and
869 legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono,* the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki,* who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

ADOPTION

TERMS AND CONVENTIONS

597 The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild.

[551] The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that [428] if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers.

[565 184] One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family.

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, refusal constituting an insult. [578]

PURPOSE OF ADOPTION

557 597 621 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. [727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

ADOPTION RITES FOR CHIEFS

The following information regarding adoption by chiefs of Nuku Hiva was derived from the Dordillon MS. (9): When a chief was about to adopt a child, he called on everyone of his tribe to bring presents, which consisted of ornaments. The chief's family, carrying the presents, then proceeded to the house of the woman who had borne the child, and then the presents were given to the child's mother. When they were presented, she was asked formally if she consented to the adoption. She gave formal assent. This formality was repeated. Then the child was given to the chief's relatives and brought back to his house. Subsequently, the true father and mother of the child carried to the chief double the amount of presents they had received. On arriving at the chief's house, the presents were laid down and were snatched up by the members of the household who thereafter had to make equal return to the donors. Following this rite, there was feasting, talking, and sleeping for three days. The visiting family then returned home and the formalities were finished.

The following account of the rites of adoption was obtained on Hiva Oa. In the formalities there were four stages, each stage being accompanied by the presentation of gifts: a formal demand on the part of the adopters made to the parents of the child before it was born; the coming of the adopting family to the house of the true parents immediately after the child was born to give it a name from their genealogy; the transfer of the child to the adopters at the time of its weaning; and the final feast at the time of the presentation of gifts by the true parents to defray the expense of bringing up the child. The exchange of presents connected with adoption was called *hai taetae* (send possessions) in the north (Nuku Hiva) and *touna hee* in the south (Hiva Oa).

The rites described below are those that were performed in connection with the adoption by an Atu Ona family of a child born in the valley of Hana Mate, Hiva Oa—in other words, an adoption from one tribe into another. (Adoption within a tribe, which was the most common form, was accompanied by less formality.) When the mother was pregnant, a formal demand for the expected child was sent from the family in Atu Ona. A gift of *feikai, kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) and a large hog, carried by the sisters of the adopting father and the brothers of the adopting mother, accompanied the demand. It was always a foregone conclusion that the demand would be accepted.

Upon the birth of the child a messenger was immediately sent to Atu Ona to notify the adopting family. The adopting parents with the adopting father's sisters and the adopting mother's brothers and others of their

597 family set out, carrying *kaaku* as a food offering. As they approached the house of the true parents, the women of the visiting family chanted sections of their genealogy. This chanting, which was always done by [195] women in a loud high voice, was called *hahi.* Their hosts called to them to come up to the house, giving the conventional summons, "*Amai, amai*" (Come, come), called in a singing voice. There the adopting father's sisters and adopting mother's brothers presented the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers with the food offering. All seated themselves inside the house and the recipients of the food offering placed the packets of *kaaku* on their heads, leaving them there, while an old man, a member of the adopting family, chanted the *pu'e,* the creation or generation chant. The women of the two families followed this by chanting their genealogies. Then the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers ate the food gift, after which a feast was prepared for the visiting family. The feast over, without formalities the foster mother's oldest sister gave the child a name from its foster father's genealogy. The child then remained with its true parents until it was weaned.

The third rite, at the time of weaning, was called *pua'a koua.* A messenger arrived at Atu Ona to inform the adopting family that the time had arrived for weaning the child. Each of the sisters of the adopting [287] father immediately set to work to make a strip of red banyan bark cloth, the *tapu* material used for the loin cloth of a sacred male child. Each of the adopting father's maternal uncles secured a pig. When all was ready, the family set out for Hana Mate, the sisters carrying their cloth and the brothers their pigs. As was always done on such formal occasions, the women of the family chanted their genealogy as they approached the house in Hana Mate. They were summoned to come upon the house platform *(paepae)* in the usual way. As they drew near, the sisters carried their sacred red cloth on their heads. After they had arrived, the eldest sister of the true father brought forward the child and gave it to the eldest sister of the foster father. All the sisters of the adopting father then placed their pieces of cloth on the infant. The pigs were then presented by the brothers, and the ceremony was over. There was no feast on this occasion, because the child, being very small, had to be brought back to Atu Ona immediately. (Another informant told me that the child was brought to its new home on the shoulders of its maternal uncles.) Its true mother accompanied it and stayed with the Atu Ona family until the child was accustomed to its new surroundings.

The final event of these ceremonies was the presentation of the gift of the true parents and their relatives to the adopting family at the feast called *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e,* or *ko'ina hai-taetae* (sending-gifts feast), as it

was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied 597
for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing
the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the 431
expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption.

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. 602
Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things.

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the 551
significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and

551 this sense of personality, there is so intimate an association that to the native the personal name, whether of a man, a thing, or a force of nature, *is* that person or object. In other words, the name is not attached to or descriptive of, but is identical with a person or thing.

103 In ancient times the bays had distinctive names, as had also different sections and localities in each valley behind each bay—streams, springs, hills, mountains, clefts in the mountains, points of land, small islets, and so on. The names of the bays are used at the present time to indicate the valleys. Many of the valley names are descriptive, such as *Tai-pi Vai* (*tai*, sea; *pi*, full; *vai*, freshwater stream), one of the characteristics of that valley being its low, swampy section near the sea, where for some distance inland the salt water backs up into the course of the freshwater stream. Many names of bays and also of valleys are preceded by *hana* or *haka*, which means bay—for example, Hana Menu. Valleys and localities are named also for traditional lands, the names of which occur in genealogies and legends—Vevau and Hiti Nui for example. One striking and important feature of place names in the Marquesas is that they were so frequently changed. There are many examples of this. For example, the ancient name of the valley now called Ta'a Oa was Tohuti. This practice of renaming was undoubtedly often due to the incoming of conquerors; but what other reasons for it there may have been it is impossible to know.

552 Feast places and temples are frequently named[a] after traditional or present lands: thus A'o Toka, Pua Ma'u. Evidence was obtained to show that these were also commonly named after chiefs or priests, or other persons to whom they were dedicated. Names of sacred places seem rarely, if ever, to have been descriptive.

Tribes were often named after a traditional ancestor, such as Tiu, Mo'ota, Putio. The Tai-pi have apparently taken their name from their valley. *Ati*, meaning "family," or "relatives," or "clan of" very commonly occurs as the first part of a tribal name—thus, Ati Toka, family of Toka (Tonga). This family lived in A'a Kapa valley on Nuku Hiva and are said to have been noted for their great stature.

Legends show that in addition to naming all the features of nature the native gave personal names to all objects that he possessed. I have examples of the naming of different parts of a man's body. Whether or not this was done commonly I do not know. Dwellings, weapons, stilts, tops, and all other possessions were named individually. A canoe had not only a general name but every part of it had its own particular name.

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[a] A list of Marquesan place names is in preparation.

PERSONAL NAMES

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, 551
were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could
recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This [424]
was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii.

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it [597]
was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names.

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in [826]
connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond.

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly 597
the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born 551
in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father.

551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own [577] account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

[597] When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

ASSUMING NEW NAMES

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the [266] victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of 553
that name (7). [366]

TAPU NAMES AND NICKNAMES

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a 553
sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and 784
so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a
fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of 421
his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person.

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some 551
one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites.

EXCHANGING NAMES

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two 553
individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of 572
names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native.

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

553 572 of his tribe entering their valley, he himself could enter this valley with just as much safety as the namesake who belonged there. It was, therefore, very profitable to have as many namesakes as possible in different valleys. Legends furnish evidence of the way in which adventurers and travellers made *e inoa* in the valleys in which they stopped. Those who were namesakes of chiefs were specially protected. There is an historic instance on Hiva Oa of a chief's making war to revenge the death of his namesake.

The following circumstances described by Melville (23, pp. 162-3) are evidently a result of this *e inoa* convention.

> Though the country is possessed by various tribes, whose mutual hostilities almost wholly preclude any intercourse between them, yet there are instances where a person having ratified friendly relations with some individual belonging to the valley, whose inmates are at war with his own, may, under particular restrictions, venture with impunity into the country of his friend, where, under other circumstances, he would have been treated as an enemy. In this light are personal friendships regarded among them, and the individual so protected is said to be "taboo," and his person, to a certain extent, is held sacred. Thus the stranger informed me he had access to all the valleys in the island.

The exchanging of names by powerful chiefs was accompanied with some formality although with nothing approaching that connected with adoption or marriage, for *e inoa* was regarded as a purely private and personal relationship, whereas adoption and marriage united whole families and tribes. When the chief wanted to exchange names with someone, all his relatives prepared large quantities of food and marched together, carrying it to the house of the one who was to be made his namesake, chanting on the way. As they approached the house, those on the platform called out, "*A mai, a mai, a mai* (Come!)." The food that had been brought was then spread out and both families feasted together. The man who was to be the chief's namesake then stood up and recited his genealogy (or some woman gave the recitation), and ended by giving the chief one of his names. The recipient repeated the same formality. Thereafter they [782] were called by each other's names. Père Jean (16) speaks of an instance in which a chief offered human sacrifice in making a namesake. When the exchange was made with the formality of a feast and the recitation of the genealogy, the relationship was regarded as sacred for all time.

Commonly, however, the exchange was made more simply, and the bond was easily terminated. It was usually accompanied merely by some simple present, such as cloth or an ornament. Or it might even be made without any gift other than the name itself. Formal exchange was made only between persons of the same class. In other words a poor man could not exchange names with a man of wealth and thus gain the right to all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare. 553 572

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

PIERCING THE EARS

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *hake pahaka* (see Dancing). 852 304 565 [826] [782]

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoiseshell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

PURIFYING THE HANDS

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima (ha'a,* to make; *me'ie,* clear; *ima,* hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi.* The 852 783

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feast then followed. This rite removed the *tapu* from the child. The natives believed that if a child made *popoi* and ate it before this ceremony had been performed, he would become ill and perhaps die. The beating of the first *popoi* that the child made on the board resting on the bodies of his *pahupahu* rendered it sacred, thus consecrating this first labor of the child and making its hands *tapu* or consecrated for this work in the future. Were it not that the *popoi* board was too heavy and the operation of beating too strenuous, the heads of the *pahupahu* rather than their bodies would doubtless have supported and consecrated the work. One informant said that the main feature of this rite was a chant sung by the child's maternal uncles and paternal aunts as they lay prone under the little one.

PRESENTATION OF THE CHILD AT ITS FIRST FEAST

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A rite called *hakahe'e* (to cause to go) in honor of first-born male and female children of families of consequence, was performed at some time before maturity. This was performed for many children at the same time and did not constitute a distinct feast. The opportunity for it was taken after the main part of some other great feast, when many people were gathered together. The time most commonly chosen was following a memorial festival *(ko'ina tupapa'u)*.

For the sake of simplicity I will describe the course followed by one particular family. The day before the rite a feast was given to the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) by the parents of the child. The family as a whole proceeded to the *tohua*. The child for whom the rite was performed was placed on the shoulders of its mother's brother—probably her eldest brother. This man, carrying the child, led a procession of the *pahupahu* around the dance area. All the *pahupahu*, as they walked held on their heads a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of red banyan-bark cloth twenty yards long, which thus formed a continuous band from the first *pahupahu*, who bore the child, to the last. (Apparently the cloth was girt about the child.) As this procession marched, female relatives chanted the genealogy of the child. The family then returned to the dwelling, where there was a pig feast, all members participating, except the father and mother for whom it was interdicted. The long strip of red cloth used in the procession was afterwards divided among the maternal uncles.

The object of the rite seems to have been the exhibition of the first-born child and the chanting of its genealogy in public. The feast that followed being in honor of the child, the father and mother could not participate—a *tapu* apparently based first on the respect due from parents

to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing 852
parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in 858
honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece).

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika,* evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e.* Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e.* As a preliminary the child was confined to the [302]
house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena.* When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu.*

RITES OF ADOLESCENCE

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance 881
of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—*matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe,* signifies has arrived.

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto,* was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu,* who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu.* Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers, 881 who could not partake of the food, though the girl and his sisters might eat.

The *tapu* of the menstrual fluid would appear to be transferred to the pig's flesh, through the medium of the sacred heads of the *pahupahu*. These relatives then ate the flesh sacramentally, thus absorbing this influence and identifying themselves with it, in order to insulate, as it were their *i'amutu* against any evil that might come through this influence.

On Nuku Hiva it was said that there were certain *tapu* places where girls in general, but particularly daughters of chiefs, were taken at the time of their first menstruation. In these places the first menstrual fluid must be left, special sacred white bark cloth being made and kept there for the girls' use. This occasion was regarded as very sacred for the girl and for the family. An informant at Taiohae said that young chiefesses from that island had to be taken to a certain place on Hiva Oa at this time. According to Père Jean (19) a chiefess on Ua Pou was *tapu* from the time of the first appearance of the menstrual flow until the fête that was celebrated in honor of this occasion and until the ceremonial priest had made the *tahe toto* (cloth to be worn at this time).

852 304 The terms used for the operation of cutting the foreskin of boys were *tehe* (cut), *tehe te akau*, or *tehe akau (akau*, wood). In Nuku Hiva Movi was the god of this work (4). Skilled operators *(tuhuna tehe)* practiced incision as a profession. For their work they were paid in pigs or other forms of wealth. The operation was performed on boys between the ages of seven and twelve—that is, before puberty. Its performance does not, however, seem to have been directly connected with the time of puberty or the appearance of adolescence.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the incision was always accomplished by means of a bamboo knife. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that a knife of bamboo or stone was used. On the other hand I was told in the same valley that anciently a stone knife was always used. Since European contact and at the present time a steel knife or razor has taken the place of the earlier implements.

The operation was performed in a sacred place. The boy was seated on a rock, a small, flat stick was inserted in the foreskin, and the skin, drawn taut across the stick, was then cut longitudinally. The cut was then pulled apart with the fingers to assure its being clear. The stick that had been inserted in the foreskin was given to the boy and being sacred was always kept thereafter by him. The knife with which the operation was performed was usually supplied by and returned to the father of the boy. But if the father did not supply one, the *tuhuna* used one of his own. It seems probable that in the days of *tapu* the knife was always supplied and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through 852 contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected 304 from contamination. The *tuhuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, [783] resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Pére Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They [832] were called *akau pi'a (akau,* wood; *pi'a,* male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

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> All the circumcisions in Pua Ma'u appear to have been performed at a single site which is located a short distance below the mortuary *me'ae* of Te oho-vevau. It does not appear to have had any special name. The site has, on the upper side, a wall or rough terrace made of single large stones, about 2½ feet high and 20 feet long. Below this there is a natural level space 15 feet wide having on its lower edge a low wall similar to that on the upper side. At the northern end of the upper wall there is a single large uncut stone on which the boys were seated during the operation. The boys were circumcised in groups at the same time as the sons of chiefs. The age varied considerably, ranging from seven to twelve years, but the operation was always performed before tattooing and apparently before puberty. The group of boys to be circumcised went to the place at the same time, accompanied by both their parents. The parents stood at the lower wall, and the boys, beginning with the chief's son, went to the stone already mentioned, one at a time. The boy to be operated upon was seated on the stone and was held by his mother's brother. The *tuhuna* then cut the foreskin with a stone or bamboo knife, making a single longitudinal slit. A stone or piece of wood was inserted under the fore skin to give a firm base on which to cut. After the slit was made the *tuhuna* pulled the skin back from the cut with his fingers so that it hung down below like a flap. The operation was performed in silence. Stones called *kiva* had been heated in the sun before the operation, and the member was placed on these to stop the bleeding. When the bleeding had stopped it was bandaged with *tapa* (bark cloth). If the member became sore and swollen during the time of healing, hot stones wrapped in leaves were applied to it.
>
> After the operation the boys were taken to the *tohua*, where the chief gave a feast for his son. The other boys took no active part in this, but ate of the food. (Informants are not clear on this point.) After the feast all the boys, including the chief's son, were dressed in new *hami* (loin cloths) and conducted to a special house which had been previously prepared by their parents. They lived in this house for one month, their food being brought to them by their parents. There appears to have been no relation between the circumcision group and the tattooing group [of *ka'ioi*] One informant, the son of a chief, had sixty boys in his tattooing group, but only three in the circumcision group.

On a visit to Pua Ma'u subsequent to that of Mr. Linton, I obtained the following supplementary notes on the practice from the same *tuhuna tehe* who served as Mr. Linton's informant. *Tehe* was a *tapu* labor *(hana tapu)*, and was performed before adolescence. A special shelter *(oho au)* was built on a platform near the dwelling of the boy's father, and decorated with the sacred white and red bark cloth, and mountain plants, the work being performed by youths, directed by a building *tuhuna*. The *tuhuna tehe,* or inciser, used a stone knife of his own unless the boy's father supplied him with a special one. The boy was seated, with the *tuhuna* in front of him. The *tuhuna* took a stone of the kind called *vihoa* (probably *ke'a viihoa,* sharp stone), broke it, and selected a sharp-edged chip. A small, flattened piece of wood was then inserted into the foreskin, which was drawn taut; then a longitudinal slit was made in the skin on top of the stick. The member was then held on the underside, while the piece of wood was withdrawn. The slit foreskin was pulled apart to insure the separation's being complete. The piece of wood, on which the foreskin

was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* 852
took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), 304
and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was
taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, [278]
and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work.

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

TATTOOING

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length 304
elsewhere,[3] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths
were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could [881]
be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from

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[3] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. [784] Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any contact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the [386] work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the [413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to [533 755] tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and PL. II, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the [553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 848 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relationship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

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through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more or less permanently. 848

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives. 582 [597]

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: 582 brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, 835 and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the 582 classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pakupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though [587] this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under 837 his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [762] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women [776] sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

SECONDARY MATES

Secondary husbands and secondary wives were called *pekio*. *Pekio* came to a woman or a man only upon the mutual consent of both *ahana* and *vehine*. Male *pekio* were numerous in chiefs' households and were common in all families. On the other hand, it appears that female *pekio* were very rare even in chiefs' households. Garcia (14, p. 111) writes that he knew of only one example of polygamy. Stewart states (26, p. 317) that he had never heard of a man's having two wives, but that "for one woman to have two husbands is a universal habit." I know, however, of a man on Hiva Oa who had three wives at the same time. There appear to have been two reasons for the more frequent plurality of husbands; first, the fact that men greatly outnumbered women and, secondly, that the chief purpose in the *pekio institution* was to obtain assistance in work. Assistant male workers were required and were of much more value in the Marquesas than females. The principal *pekio* in a chief's household was always known as *tahu ahi* (fire lighter or guardian). He attended to the fire and did the cooking for the chief and had the first right to the common wife when the true husband was absent. It was the universal rule in both chiefly and other families that *pekio* could cohabit with the wife only when the husband himself was absent. It is doubtful whether there is anything in Krusenstern's belief (16, p. 167) that the main function of the *pekio* was to guard a man's wife during his absence. In a chief's establishment all of the *pekio* lived in a separate house of their own near the dwelling of the chief. It will be seen (in the discussion of betrothal) that if a man or woman lived with another woman or man who had not been the *tuia* or affianced mate this person was called *pekio* even though he or she might be the only actual mate.

Melville and Stewart give interesting evidence as to how the *pekio* relationship sometimes came about. Melville says (23, p. 222):

> The girls are first wooed and won at a very tender age by some stripling in the household in which they reside. This, however, is a mere frolic of the affections, and no formal engagement is contracted. By the time this first love has a little subsided, a second suitor presents himself, of graver years, and carries both boy and girl away to his own habitation. This disinterested and generous-hearted fellow now weds the young couple—marrying damsel and lover at the same time—and all three thenceforth live together as harmoniously as so many turtles.

Stewart supports this as follows (26, p. 317):

> We have yet met with no instance, in any rank of society, of a male with two wives, but are informed that for one woman to have two husbands is a universal habit. Some favourite in the father's household or retinue at an early period becomes the husband of the daughter, who still remains under the paternal roof till contracted

595 in marriage to a second individual, on which she removes with her first husband to his habitation, and both herself and original companion are supported by him.

It will be seen that this quotation of Stewart's supports what has just been said regarding the *tuia* and the secondary mate.

584 595 The established relationship between *tuia* and *pekio* was somewhat complicated: A boy (A) and a girl (B) would be betrothed when children, thus becoming *tuia*. When they grew up, the woman might marry another man, who would then be called *ahana pekio* in relationship to both A and B. The affianced man might marry some other woman. She would be *vehine pekio* for both A and B. The two *tuia*, A and B, might never live together, but the man had a right to claim the woman at any time. The two *tuia* might be forced to come together by their relatives who had expended much wealth on the betrothal rites. The first child of the *vehine tuia*, no matter by what father, belonged to the *ahana tuia*, came to live with him, and took the position in his establishment of his first-born, even though the man might have had children already by another woman with whom he was living. The child was called *hamua*, first-born.

When a woman lived with several men at the same time, the first was her *ahana* if neither he nor she had been affianced to anyone; the second to come with her was *ahana pekio*. Similarly, when a man lived with several women, all taken after the first wife were *vehine pekio*.

FORMAL BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE RITES

584 The making of *tuia*, or affiancing of offspring, was arranged sometimes before the birth of the children or during their early childhood. The betrothal of children was merely an antecedent stage of the whole process of binding two families or two tribes together by the formal marriage of representatives of each. Formal betrothal was made only between members of two tribes, never within one tribe. The main features of the rites associated with the making of *tuia* consisted in a series of feasts, the giving of presents on the part of both families to each other, and the recitation of their genealogies. In the description of the *pekio* institution, it has been shown already that the *tuia* in many cases never became permanently mated, but that the first child of the *tuia* woman belonged to the *tuia* man and was his first-born, rather than the child born of the woman with whom he had chosen to live. Similarly it was only the man or woman who had been formerly made *tuia* of one's daughter or son whom one called *hunona*.

584 585 The festivals and rites connected with formal betrothal and marriage of two scions of chiefly or wealthy families of different tribes were among the most elaborate of all public festivals in the Marquesas. (See Festivals.)

These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage 584
of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities sur- 585
rounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites.

CELIBACY AND PERVERTED INSTINCTS

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. 589
Mahoi or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in 838
woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enatá mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas.

DEATH

MOURNING

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was 763
very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way:

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, i, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
á, á, á, á, á, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!	O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . . i!	Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!	May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!	O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva,* throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika.* Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata.* It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

MEMORIAL FEASTS

764 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated 765 in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u.* According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa,* and *kahekaika.* At all these feasts many pigs were eaten and much *kava* was drunk. The feasts were given to the accompaniment 764 of drums and the chants of the ceremonial priest. Whole nights were passed in chanting. Before the beating of the drums, the priest intoned 765 the chant called *kaheoko*.

Dordillon (8) gives the following as the names of successive feasts for the dead: *menava hakanoho, tiahahati, haoka, uu moeka, taha, uhe* or *kohekena*. (8, p. 283.) The *ko'ika vai-mata* and *ko'ika he'e vai-mata* (feast of tears) were, according to a Nuku Hiva informant, feasts held at the house of a dead man immediately after death. The *ko'ika hakanoho menava* (feast to cause the spirit to stay) was celebrated when death seemed impending, in the attempt to prevent it. There was feasting and wailing. The *ko'ika tiahahati*—a *tapu* rite—that is, one in which women could not participate, was celebrated after the body had been dried. It included feasting and dancing.

According to modern Hiva Oa informants, the feast and accompanying 764 celebration at the time of death was called *ko'ina vai-mata (vai-mata,* tears). Some say that women were excluded from such a feast. Melville (23, p. 224), however, describes witnessing one at which girls were dancing and women eating with the men, and he states definitely that women took an active part in the feast immediately following death. It is probable that there were certain parts of the rite immediately following death—such as the recitation of the sacred chants—that were *tapu* to women. The feast was given for the relatives and friends of the dead person and for the assistants who aided in the labor connected with the funerary practices, including the ceremonial priest who officiated. I was told that at such a feast old women danced the *heva* naked.

Krusenstern (16, p. 173) says that for these feasts the whole stock of the family's hogs, taro and breadfruit was brought forth.

> As soon as the guests are assembled, they cut off the hog's head to propitiate the gods, and obtain for the deceased a safe and peaceable passage through the lower regions. This gift, which the priest takes possession of is secretly devoured by him, and he only leaves a small piece of it under a stone.

Langsdorff says (18, p. 154), however, that

> At least half the swine belonging to the deceased are then killed and roasted. The Tau'a and other of the taboo-friends are informed of the death, and invited to the funeral. Before the arrival of the guests, a large piece of cloth is stretched out behind the bier, on which the corpse is laid, and several stakes are stuck up with pieces of fine white cloth upon them. These are to mark the taboo place.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre, three pigs were commonly killed on the day of the death or that immediately following. One of these, called *tia hahati* or *tia fafati (fafati,* to break), was distributed and

764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were [783] eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

FUNERAL CHANTING

764 533 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna,* coral or lime; *tohu,* to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai,* water; *hahae,* to break; and *tupapa'u,* corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava,* or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu,* was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane,* spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie,* made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

FUNERAL RITES FOR CHIEFS AND PRIESTS

766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

priest. It is said that the death of an inspirational or a ceremonial priest had to take place on a *me'ae* (4). According to Père Pierre, on the first day following the death came the rite called *poou*. The body was washed and wrapped in a new cloth. On the second day the rite *kahahakatu* was performed when a special house called *ha'e uaka* was erected in the sacred place *(me'ae)*, and decorated with coconut leaves. On the third day was the rite *pouhau*. On this day the body of the dead priest or chief was carried into the *ha'e vaka*. The house was further decorated with strips and rolls of sacred white and red bark cloth, with branches of a plant called *ata*, and with flowers of *koute (Hibiscus rosa sinensis)*. Three bundles of peeled fau poles were set up in the ground and decorated with the white and red cloth. During all these three days, a ceremonial *tapu* prevailed for the whole tribe, no one being allowed, on pain of death, to leave his house or to light a fire for cooking. Following these days of preliminary ceremony, there was continuous chanting in the sacred place for from twenty to thirty days. 766

At the time of the death of a chief or priest the violent mourning that was customary in connection with all deaths, was carried to an extreme by all the tribe. The following quotation gives a picture of the activities at this time as seen by an early American missionary (7, pp. 240-1):

> On the fourth of December, 1833, he [the chief of Taiohae] died. The hills then echoed with wailing, the thumping of drums and the blowing of conch shells. The body was hung high in a canoe over the *heiau* [rock platform for worship] and the first wife was obliged to remain continually in care of it, to provide food for the spirit, until the body had so far decayed that the bones could be picked out, which it was the privilege of the wife or the nearest relative to do.

Mr. Alexander has given a description of the scenes he then witnessed. He says: 766 786

> The funeral rites beggared description for obscenity, noise, cruelty, and beastly exposure. They lasted several days, and were the darkest days I ever saw. Companies came from all parts, filling the air with loud wailings, dancing in a state of perfect nudity around the corpse like so many furies, cutting their flesh with shells and sharp stones till the blood trickled down to their feet, the women tearing out their hair, both men and women knocking out their teeth, indulging in the most revolting licentiousness, and feasting to excess, while muskets were fired and sea-shells were kept a-blowing with a long deep sepulchral sound during the whole night.

According to Dordillon (9), upon the occasion of a chief's death, there was a general *tapu* which reigned one month, during which time no fire could be lighted and no work done. It was believed that anyone who violated this *tapu* would be eaten by a shark. During this time the chief's body lay in or near his own house. At the end of a month it was carried to the *me'ae and* a rite of deification was performed. The elevation of the 766 [688]

766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman
[763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness.
787] While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te ki'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe
was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to
784 seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

TREATMENT OF DEAD BODIES

764

Tupapa'u (or *tupapaku)* was the word applied to dead bodies. *Paku* means to rub with oil. In other words, a *tupapaku* was a corpse that had been rubbed with oil—a mummy. The body of a dead person was first laid on a piece of cloth and was washed. After the feast at the time of death and the chanting on the night following—that is to say, after the spirit was supposed to have left the body, it was placed on a bier and the process of rubbing, which accomplished a temporary mummification, was begun. When the body was not being rubbed, it was sometimes placed on the bier, flat on its back and covered with white cloth. At other times it was propped in a seated position with the arms and the head resting over a cross made of two sticks. It appears that the purpose of this custom was to allow juices to run out of the mouth as well as the anus, rather than to put the body in a position in which it could be best observed.

Garcia (14, p. 116) describes the dressing of a dead warrior in his finest clothes, placing near him his arms, head-dress and ornaments, and the trophies of his prowess. The body was left thus, lying at length or seated on its bier, from two to eight days. After the body had been embalmed and skinned, the remains were put in a coffin, which was elevated on stakes under the roof of a special house entirely closed on all four sides or half open and an offering of food was made.

On Hiva Oa the process of embalming was called *ha'a pa'a.* As the body lay on its bier, it was rubbed with perfumed coconut oil called *huhe.* Four or more men and women who were relatives of the dead person—according to my informant on Hiva Oa—rubbed the body continuously for about six days. During the time of rubbing, decay was going on in the interior of the body, the juices being allowed to run out through the anus into a pit or ditch *(vaio)* below the bier. When the decaying matter had all run out and the surface of the body was firm, the labor was finished. The body was then usually left on its bier until it dried up. During the time of the rubbing the food of those attending the body was brought to them. They were not allowed to prepare their own food, but they fed themselves. During all this time they slept in the house with the body and were not allowed to wash even their hands. [784] The reason given for this is hard to understand. The explanation given was that if they had washed, they would have been visited by evil spirits. The workers were very *tapu.* After embalming was accomplished, all the attendants washed in fresh water and the *tapu* was lifted. According to Père Pierre, three times each day certain people came to rub the dead body with raw breadfruit paste. Special women attendants were devoted to this work. Père Siméon says

764 that relatives of the dead person who attended the body drank the juices
which came from its decay. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the treatment
of bodies was distinctly a function of old men who no longer had any
association with women. According to this informant, women not being
tapu, never touch the dead. The object in oiling the body was particularly
to preserve it; but in the minds of old informants, it was also for the
purpose of making clear and brilliant the tattooing on the skin of the
[824] corpse. Jardin (15, p. 42) says that the head of a corpse was rubbed with
coconut oil, and that it was surrounded with fruits of the *kaupe (Carissa
grandis)* to prevent the hair from falling out.

During the time of treatment, when the body was not covered with
cloth, it was continuously fanned by relatives, doubtless to keep from it
[293] the flies, which would have interfered with the mummification. A tortoise-
shell fan used for this purpose was obtained by our party. The following
quotation from Melville (23, p. 224) describes the fanning of dead bodies
in this way on Nuku Hiva:

> Two females, of a dejected appearance, watched by its side, plaintively chanting and beating the air with large grass fans whitened with pipe-clay.

Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tattooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic. How this was done I could not find out.

OFFERINGS PLACED WITH THE BODY

Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing
safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted
of a pig's head and a piece of *kava* root *(kahau kava)*. In the southern
section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which
lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees,
these offerings being called *tuao,* gift for the dead. Living poultry and
pigs' heads were offered also at this time. As the spirit after its escape
from the body was supposed to be subject to attack by evil spirits that
sought to devour it, these offerings were made to attract the demons, thus
giving the departing soul an opportunity to escape. The hog's head and
root of *kava* were also considered to be offerings, with which the *kuhane*
[775] or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the *kuhane*
had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to
the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region.

During the time that the body lay in the shed erected for its protection, 764
food was offered to it and coconut shell vessels filled with *popoi* and fish
were kept near the bier. Père Pierre says that, before eating, the members
of the family took a little *popoi* on the end of the finger and threw it into
the shed to feed the dead. Likewise the first puff of tobacco smoke ejected
into the air was dedicated to the dead.

DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

All the articles that had been associated with the dead person during the 764
time of sickness and after death, including clothes, utensils, house, and the
clothing of the attendants of the body, were burned. It is to be noted, 768
however, that this custom is not entirely a result of a belief in contamina-
tion through association with sickness and death. It will be seen that the
special structures associated with all labor were burned upon completion
of the labor.

So much for the general features of the treatment of dead bodies. 764
There were certain details in practice that varied considerably on the sev- 184
eral islands. According to Linton, private sepulchral platforms *(taha
tupapa'u)* were not used in Fatu Hiva:

> The body was slung under the roof of the dwelling on a sort of stretcher. At the end of two or three days there was an explosion and the bowels ran out into vessels placed below to receive them. The body was then taken out, oiled, and mummified as elsewhere. After the mummification, it was kept in the house for a long time, and finally hidden in a cave.

COFFINS AND BIERS

On Hiva Oa coffins were called *papa tupapa'u*. On Ua Pou and Nuku 764
Hiva a portable bier that was kept in the sleeping house was called *papa
tupapuku*. This seems not to have been used on Hiva Oa. On the other
hand the bier erected on the special platform for the dead was called on
Hiva Oa *fata'a* and *tupapa'u*. The coffin itself in which the bones were
placed was called on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, *pa'aha*.

Coffins were made of the wood of various trees: *mei* (breadfruit), *netae* (flamboyant), *puatea*, and *hutu (Barringtonia speciosa)*. It was customary for the family of an old man or woman to make his or her coffin some time in advance of death. In case death occurred suddenly, the coffin had to be made quickly and was less elaborate than otherwise. Coffins were frequently referred to as canoes *(vaka)*. The process of adzing was similar to that followed in hollowing out a canoe, the tree being felled, a piece of the proper length cut, and the outside and the inside shaped by adzing. The making of a coffin for a chief was a cere-

764 monial process. The adz with which it was made was *tapu*, and was called *toki mana (toki*, adz, *mana*, power), or *toki tapu*. The carver had to bathe before he started work and wore a head-dress of coconut leaves *(pa'e koua'ehi)* and a coconut leaf on his body *(tapi koua'ehi)* and a *hami puo* (a special loin cloth of some kind) (9). During the process of manufacture, the *pu'e*, creation or generation chant, was recited by the ceremonial priest. The work of adzing, carving, and decorating was done in an especially built house by masters skilled in these crafts.

Coffins were either flat-ended or canoe-shaped, with pointed ends. The former types have been observed on Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Ua Pou. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton observed coffins made of smoothly polished wood and canoe-shaped with pointed, upturned ends. These canoes showed no signs of decoration with ornamental sennit and had neither lids nor mat covers. Lucett, commenting on the coffins he observed on Tahu Ata says:

> Their dead are encased in hollowed pieces of timber, something resembling small canoes, and are suspended beneath sheds, on mounds of stones (21, vol. 2, p. 197).

Stewart (26, p. 259) describes a canoe-shaped coffin on Nuku Hiva:

> The most remarkable of these was a coffin, something in the shape of a canoe, with a neatly wrought lid, the whole being wrapped in large folds of native cloth, containing the remains of a son of the Taua, who died many years since. It is elevated two or three feet from the ground on a bier of frame-work, and occupies the centre of the house.

This statement shows that some of the coffins had lids. Dordillon gives the words *papapu* and *papa puha as* terms meaning the covering of a coffin, the former being from the northern section of the group, the latter from the southern. *Papapu* means also a kind of small canoe. Modern informants on Hiva Oa have told me that lids were never used there. One coffin covered with fau bark mats was seen by Mr. Linton. That coffins were made both with and without lids is evident, but whether lids were ever used in Hiva Oa or not could not be ascertained.

In both the southern and northern sections of the group coffins were [53] elaborately ornamented with lashings of sennit, black and red strips crossing each other in alternate directions over the white tapa that covered the body of the coffin. The designs for this decoration were taken from string figures. For carrying the coffin a long pole was lashed on each side, the sennit lashings being ornamental.

It has already been said that instead of the platform surmounted by a fixed bier on posts found on Hiva Oa, there was used on Ua Pou and on Nuku Hiva a portable bier, which was kept in the dwelling house and carried out during the day-time when the body was sunned. The main part of this *papa tupapaku* consisted of a heavy, hollowed board *(papa)* of exactly the same form as those used for beating *popoi*. It rested on legs called *toko papa*, spreading from a central support lashed to the board. The form is shown in the accompanying drawing (fig. 11, *a*). There was one pair of legs at each end of the board and another pair in the middle, so that the pairs of legs were at right angles to the body of the bier. The legs were carved with designs, and the feet with conventional human figures. Poles for carrying the bier were lashed to the feet on either side. The bottom of the board was either carved or decorated with black or red ornamental sennit lashed over white bark cloth.

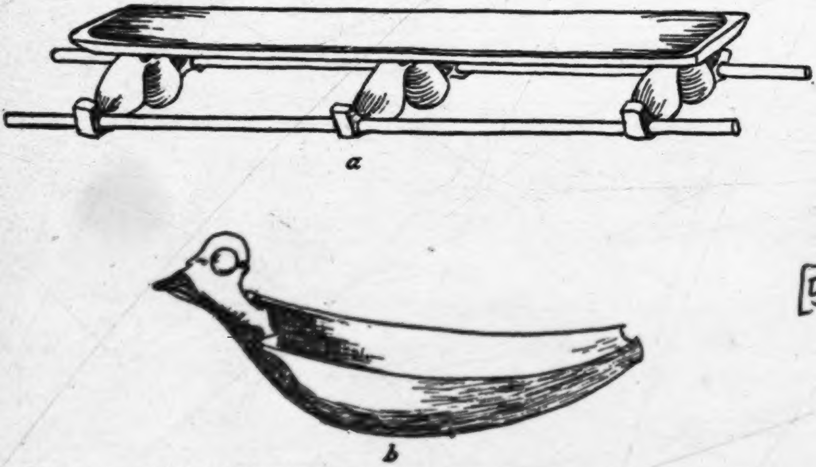

FIGURE 11.—*a*. Portable bier (drawn from one pair of legs supplemented by description); *b*, bowl for carrying the head of a dead chief (After Edge-Partington and Heape, Series 1, 48, No. 1).

DISPOSAL OF BONES

The body was left on the bier until the bones had fallen apart. These were then scraped and bundled up *(kokonatua)*, the skull was removed, and a tight bundle was made of the bones by wrapping them in cloth and binding with sennit. According to an informant on Nuku Hiva, the process consisted in dislocating the bones, placing them in a pile, wrapping them with strips of sacred white cloth, wrapping around this a large bundle of *tapa*, and then tying the bundle with hibiscus bark or coconut fiber, and finally hanging it up to the roof of the house. Melville (23, p. 225)

764 describes seeing a whole body wrapped in tapa and suspended from the side of a house. He says:

> It was enveloped in immense folds of *tappa* with only the face exposed, and hung erect against the side of the dwelling.

At other times the bones were wrapped in cloth or a mat and placed in a coffin, over which was put a sheet of cloth or a rough mat of fau bark. Some of these coffins were open on top, and others had lids. They were put in a cave, or in a banyan tree, or were slung up under the roof of a special house constructed for the purpose in the sacred place, or suspended from the ridge pole of the dwelling house. At the time when the bones were placed in the coffin, three pigs, called *humu ia pa'aha,* were killed, to bind in the coffin (4). Bones were sometimes buried in the sepulchral platform or in the platform of a temple. Some temples had special pits lined with cut red-stone slabs for the purpose of receiving bones.

The skull was sometimes left with the body in the coffin. More frequently it was detached and secreted. Skulls were commonly put on or in the ground in the tribal temple or secreted in the sacred banyans on these sacred places or in other trees that surrounded them. After the temple, the favorite place for disposition of skulls was in caves difficult of access, called *ana hakanatina* (cave for hiding). The skull of a chief was an object of tribal veneration. When the body of a chief had been exposed for about a month, his sister's daughter, accompanied by her grandfather and grandmother, went secretly and cut off the head. The body was put in a cave in the mountains, but the head, which was very *tapu,* was placed in a small oblong vessel with a bird's head carved at one end (*otue*). (See fig. 11, *b.*) The vessel was covered with a cloth and the head was carried in it to the temple by the women. When they came to the sacred precincts, the grandfather took the vessel and carried it in. The skull was thereafter kept there, being brought out at the time of certain public activities, such as fishing. When a chiefess died, her husband, accompanied by her maternal uncle or other maternal relatives, took the head to the temple. The great care which was taken in the preservation of the skull of a deceased ancestor is another manifestation of the belief in close association between a man's skull or head and his spiritual power—a belief exhibited in another way in war, in the capture of heads and in their preservation.

[778] Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe. This vault will be described in connection with the temple *(me'ae).* It is striking that the two most

sacred classes of individuals of the tribe were given grave burial in the ground, the only other persons who were buried in this way being those who died without relatives to take care of their bodies properly, and certain persons whose spirits were specially feared, such as the insane, lepers, consumptives, and women who had died in childbirth. 764 778

The great memorial festivals that followed some time after the death and disposal of the body of a chief or high priest are described under Festivals.

SACRED PLACES OF SEPULTURE

The *taha tupapa'u (taha,* place; *tupapa'u,* corpse), a part of the establishment of every family in Hiva Oa, was virtually the family shrine. It was a sacred platform consecrated primarily to the treatment and disposal of the bodies of the dead and as such actually amounted to a private temple (*me'ae*). These platforms for the dead were, however, never referred to as *me'ae.* On the other hand the platform on which the body of the priest or chief was placed, at death, being the same as that at which tribal ceremonial was performed was called a *me'ae.* 764 778

Me'ae were fundamentally and originally places of sepulture, though they functioned also as places of public ceremonial. These two functions of the tomb-temples united as one, since all the ceremonial that was performed at the *me'ae* had to do with the bodies of priests or chiefs or with sacrifice to tribal deities—these priests and chiefs deified—or with some phase of the ancestral cult. There were other sacred places not of equal importance. Such were family shrines, sacred places for the purpose of depositing hair of women and other sacred objects, special sacred places for the purpose of depositing the hair of men, and so on. Lastly there was a type of sacred place called *tokai* at which offerings were presented to the evil spirits *(fanana)* that caused women to die in child-birth. (See Spirits.)

Me'ae was the term generally used for the tribal sacred places. On the island of Ua Huka and Ua Pou, they were known more commonly as *ahu.* Other synonymous terms used throughout the group were: *a tapu (a,* place; *tapu,* sacred); *vahi tapu (vahi,* place); *taha tapu (taha,* place). Dordillon gives also *vahi hi'o hi'o (vahi,* place; *hi'o hi'o,* calm, silent); *pito tapu* (*pito,* umbilicus). *Ona tapu* (*ona,* enclosure) is also given as meaning a place where *tapu* objects were put (8). Père Jean (19) distinguishes two types of *me'ae.* He wrote that *ahu fenua (fenua,* land) were tribal shrines at which food offerings were presented; here there was no eating of human flesh. *Ahu ikoa enana (ikoa,* name; *enana,* man), on the other hand, were the property of particular families, being burial

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764 778 places of chiefs and priests and at the same time places of human sacrifice and places where revenge victims were devoured. The type of *ahu* in which human flesh was eaten was accessible only to priests, chiefs, and warriors. One infers that the other *ahu*, being tribal, was more accessible to the common people.

Broadly used, *me'ae* was applied not only to sacred places that had platforms or buildings associated with treatment of bodies or ceremonial but sometimes to any places, such as trees, hill tops, or caves, that had been used for disposal of sacred relices of the dead. Specifically, however, when a *me'ae* is spoken of, a sacred place with platforms and other structures, used for tribal ceremonial, is referred to.

764 778 184 Sepulchral platforms were used rarely, if at all, by private families on Nuku Hiva and on Ua Pou. Mr. Linton found that they were absent also in Fatu Hiva. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton found them to be used in the same way as those on Hiva Oa, but called, however, *vahi tomia tupapa'u (vahi,* place; *tomia,* burial). Though these platforms, called *taha tupapa'u* in Hiva Oa, were not used on Ua Pou nor on Nuku Hiva, there was in use on Ua Pou, and apparently on Nuku Hiva also, a special house in which the body was treated. In other words, the only difference in practice was that the house was not placed on a specially erected platform on Ua Pou unless the body was that of a chief or priest, in which case the house was on the platfrom of the *me'ae*. On Ua Pou, the body of a commoner was treated in a small special house or shed erected on the ground near the platform of the sleeping house or was kept on a portable bier in the sleeping house. Evidence obtained by me would indicate that it was only the bodies of those of chiefly or priestly class that were honored by being placed in the *me'ae*. As regards Nuku Hiva, Porter says (24, pp. 114-115), without stating whether he is speaking merely of the chiefly class or not:

> When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a tabbooed house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practiced with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them.

Porter's evidence would indicate that on Nuku Hiva it was the bodies of men that were put in the *me'ae*, the bodies of women being treated in an abandoned sleeping house.

TAHA TUPAPA'U

764 778 On Hiva Oa the *taha tupapa'u*, or platform for the dead, is a simple small platform carefully constructed of stream boulders, well fitted to-

gether and encasing rough stone, rubble, and earth. These platforms are easily recognizable through the fact that their height is much greater in proportion to their length and breadth as compared with that of the platform of the sleeping house. The dimensions of *taha tupapa'u* averaged between six and eight feet in height, ten and fifteen feet in length, six and ten feet in breadth. These platforms for the dead stand in close proximity to the sleeping houses. In the upper surface of the platform was a trench called *vala*, which ran lengthwise with the platform beneath the bier on which the body was exposed, and which was intended to catch the juices of decay that came from it. 764 778

The bier, on which the body was extended, stood in the middle of the platform on four posts about four feet high and was made usually of fau poles. Melville (23, p. 224) describes a bier on Nuku Hiva constructed of elastic bamboo ingeniously twisted together. This was supported, about two feet from the ground, by large canes planted uprightly in the earth.

The body lay extended on this bier, either exposed for treatment and drying or covered with a sheet of tapa; or it was seated, leaning forward, with arms and head supported on a frame in a shape of a cross. The portable bier used on Ua Pou has been already described.

Protecting the bier and the workers was a *fa'e vaka (fa'e,* house; *vaka,* canoe) or *fa'e ha'a pa'a (ha'a pa'a,* to dry). This was merely a four-posted shed open at the sides, the roof of which was thatched with coconut leaf mats. When the body was being treated, the shed was decorated with ribbons or strips of the sacred white or red banyan cloth, about one foot wide, with coconut leaves plaited on the posts *(kopinipini)* and with other greenery. [343]

ME'AE

Me'ae, the sacred places used for burial and for the performance of ritual at times of festivals, with few exceptions consisted of a platform or platforms within a sacred but not enclosed area, and were located in various types of places, according to their main usage. Those that were primarily for burial were in secluded spots such as the depths of valleys, the tops of hills, and so on. On the other hand, those that appear to have had burial merely as secondary usage, being primarily for the performance of ritual in connection with festivals, were attached to and a part of the feast place, which was itself a part of the establishment of the chief of the tribe. It may be that those of the latter type were used at times for burial, but it is certain that this was not the main purpose for which they were built, as it was the purpose for which those in the secluded spots

764 778 were erected. It would seem that Père Jean's term *ahu fenua* must refer to those that were attached to or near to the feast place, and that the *ahu ikoa kenana* were those used for burial.

Me'ae were usually owned by the chief as the head of the tribe. A chief or tribe might have one or many; private families had their own sacred places. Such evidence as has come to me, however, shows that these were never called *me'ae,* but were given various names—*taha tupapa'u, ahu, feia'u*—depending on their use. The *me'ae* of a chief, like all of his other possessions, was inherited by his first-born.

The names of *me'ae* are usually not subject to analysis or translation. Occasionally one can trace a name to mythological sources, as O'o Va'u, a *me'ae* in the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), this name being taken from that of an ancient land prominent in mythology. The names of temples are rarely descriptive—another *me'ae* in the same valley is called Ke'i Ani *(ke'i,* pierce; *ani,* sky), but this is really the name of a small mountain in the valley, the top of which served as the temple. There are certain temple names which appear to have been favorites—that which recurs more frequently than any other throughout the group is Pou Au which was the name of the central *me'ae* of Vevau. The term used by Père Jean for the type of *ahu* used for burial, *ahu ikoa kenana (ikoa,* name; *kenana,* man), suggests that such *me'ae* were named after the individuals in whose honor they were built.

The placing of the platforms in the *me'ae* was determined by use and topography. They were built like those of sleeping houses and had one or several levels according to the requirements of their use. They consisted of a core of earth with broken stone and rubble in a casing of boulders or natural blocks. Some *me'ae* had several rows of equal sized smooth beach boulders *(kiva)* in the walls, and rows of cut, red-stone slabs *(ke'etu)* lining the borders of different levels like a curbing. Others [532] were ornamented with blocks carved as human heads, small conventionalized representations of the human figures in relief, and geometric bas-reliefs on red-stone slabs. There was no enclosing wall around the sacred place—the limits of the sacred precincts would appear to have been well enough known not to have needed such protection, and during rites, the sacred limits, beyond which the people must not pass, were indicated by stakes of fau wrapped with cloth.

The most important of the platforms was that which held the images. As a rule this was placed in a position dominating the rest, being commonly in such a location as to make it the rearmost of the group of platforms that constituted the *me'ae* as a whole.

On other platfroms were houses for various purposes: the house 764 of the inspirational priest *(fa'e takau, fa'e tu'a)*, a house or houses in 778 which his assistants lived during the rites, another for the ceremonial priest, the *fa'e vaka* for the body of the dead chief or priest—if this ceremonial were being performed—, a house for the bodies of human sacrifices, and so on. All of these types of houses, the temporary shrines that were erected at certain times in the sacred place, the images and *tapu* signs, and the paraphernalia, such as drums and conch-shells—all constituting temporary parts of the *me'ae*—will be described in connection with the rites of which they were a part. Long stone slabs or blocks were set up on some platforms or in the ground to serve as back-rests for the priests and old men who took part in the ritual.

It appears that beneath some of the *me'ae* there were pits or vaults, dug for the burial of ceremonial priests (*tau'a*). Père Jean (19) says that the body of the dead *tau'a* was buried in a very deep pit beneath the *ahu*, and adds that from many of these pits there branched off a subterranean way, at the end of which was another pit or ditch with another subterranean way or vault *(souterrain)* at the end of it.

According to modern informants, pits lined with cut red-stone slabs were made in temple platforms, some being intended to hold a whole skeleton, or skeletons, and others being merely for the deposition of skulls. Other round well-like pits lined with boulders are to be observed in the platforms of *me'ae*, the use of some of which would appear to have been for storing the breadfruit paste *(ma)* eaten by the priests and their attendants, and of others for disposing of sacred objects. Some of the sacrifice pits are known to have been a part of the sacred platforms or to have been near them, and others were separate. At Ta'a Oa on the island of Hiva Oa, at some distance to the eastward of the *me'ae*, there is such a pit into which the human sacrifices were thrown. At Pua Ma'u Mr. Linton examined such a sacrifice pit, which was stone lined. According to Père Siméon, these sacrifice pits were called *tai nui* (*tai*, sea; *nui*, great). A trustworthy informant on Nuku Hiva said that they were called there *pa keho* (*pa*, enclosure; *keho*, stone blocks of basalt). The remains of human bones and animal bones found in the platforms of sacred places, as well as literary evidence from the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers and information from living natives, show that the remains of sacrifices and sacred objects were sometimes buried under the floor of the sacred platforms, instead of being thrown into pits.

Universally associated with the *me'ae* were sacred trees or sacred [824] groves. Most common of all is the banyan *(aoa)* which was sacred beyond all other trees. Frequently nowadays a great banyan is found growing

764 upon the most important platform of a *me'ae* and in many places it is impossible to tell whether the tree was planted on a platform already built 778 or whether the platform was built around a tree already growing. The tangled roots of these great banyans furnished a hiding place for sacred relics of the dead and for other objects. In some places ironwood trees [824] *(toa)*, which grew naturally on high secluded spots, formed the sacred groves. Many of the sacred places were located where there were single great *temanu* trees or groves of them.

Me'ae were *tapu* always, but particularly during the time of perform- [562] ance of ritual in their precincts. At no time could a woman—other than an inspirational priestess—set foot within the precincts of a temple. At the time of ceremonial it appears that, at some times at least, not even the chief could enter, only those being allowed access who were actually performing ceremonial, namely, the priests and their assistants. At other times, it is evident that, in addition to the ceremonial priests, the chief and warriors entered.

With the completion of a rite in the *me'ae*, all the temporary structures connected with it, including the shrines and houses (but not the images), were destroyed. It was only during the times of ceremonies that even the inspiration priest actually stayed in the precincts. At other times, the sacred places were deserted—hence their unkempt appearance described by a number of early visitors.[a]

DESCRIPTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL PLACES BY EARLY VISITORS

Some of the descriptions of sepulchral houses and platforms given in the accounts of early visitors are of *taha tupapa'u*, others of *me'ae*. It is not of great importance to distinguish between the two in the descriptions, since the use of both and the customs in connection with them were in general the same. Du Petit-Thouars observed houses for the dead, the posts of which were painted red and yellow (10, p. 347). In the account of the Duff's voyage (30, pp. 525-526), a sepulchral place of a chief (doubtless a *fae* in a *me'ae)* is described as follows:

> This house stood on a square platform, raised with stones, with a wall six-feet high, on the lowest side; (all of them being built upon a declivity;) a sort of escutcheon appears in the inside in memory of Honoo, the chief's father. A drum, somewhat in the Otaheitean style, but much longer, adorns each end. At a little distance, on the same platform, another house presents itself, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where two rude wooden figures of men are placed, nearly as large as life. Against the side of the house, three other escutcheons

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[a] For details of the construction of *me'ae* and other stone structures the reader is referred to Linton's report on his archaeological survey, which at this date (December, 1922) has not yet been published.

> are placed. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but excited by curiosity, one of the brethren opened a hole on the side of it, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes, about a yard from the ground. 764 778

The following is a description (17, p. 158) of a similar place on Fatu Hiva:

> On the platform were two coffins of hollowed coco-nut trees slung between stakes, stuck up after the fashion of piled arms. Over these coffins were the remains of a kind of thatch of leaf matting. Skulls grinned at us from the hollows, between the roots of neighboring trees. The coffins had fallen partly from their places, and skeletons, tappa cloth, strings of beads, and hair mixed with cocoa fibre, streamed over the sides on to the ground, presenting a gruesome spectacle. Bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.

The following descriptions by Porter and Melville of what they observed in Nuku Hiva are interesting. in that they are indicative of the definite conception in the mind of the native that the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe. On Hiva Oa I have never heard of this custom of placing the body seated in a canoe and am inclined to think it was peculiar to Nuku Hiva. Porter (24, p. 111) says: [184]

> On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral, shells, etc., with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

Melville's description (23, pp. 201-202) is as follows:

> Like all the other edifices of any note, it was raised upon a small pi-pi of stones, which, being of unusual height, was a conspicuous object from a distance. A light thatching of bleached palmetto-leaves hung over it like a self-supported canopy; for it was not until you came very near that you saw it was supported by four slender columns of bamboo, rising at each corner to a little more than the height of a man. A clear area of a few yards surrounded the pi-pi and was enclosed by four trunks of cocoa-nut trees resting at the angles on massive blocks of stone. The place was sacred. The sign of the inscrutable Taboo was seen in the shape of a mystic roll of white Tappa, suspended by a twisted cord of the same material from the top of a slight pole planted within the enclosure. . . . On all sides as you approached this silent spot you caught sight of the dead chief's effigy, seated in the stern of a canoe, which was raised on a light frame a few inches above the level of the pi-pi. The canoe was about seven feet in length; of a rich, dark colored wood, handsomely carved and adorned in many places with variegated bindings of stained sinnate, into which were ingeniously wrought a number of sparkling sea-shells, and a belt of the same shells ran all around it. The body of the figure—of whatever material it might have been made—was effectually concealed in a heavy robe of brown tappa, revealing only the hands and head; the latter skilfully carved in wood, and surmounted by a superb arch of plumes. These plumes, in the subdued and gentle gales which found access to this sequestered spot, were never for one moment at

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

764 rest, but kept nodding and waving over the chief's brow. The long leaves of the palmetto dropped over the eaves, and through them you saw the warrior holding 778 his paddle with both hands in the act of rowing, leaning forward and inclining his head, as if eager to hurry on his voyage. Glaring at him forever, and face to face, was a polished human skull, which crowned the prow of the canoe. The spectral figurehead, reversed in its position, glancing backwards, seemed to mock the impatient attitude of the warrior.

Stewart (26, p. 266) observed the following in Nuku Hiva:

> The bier was prepared for the deposit of the body after it should be placed in the coffin, and the cones of cocoa-nut leaf were shrines formed by the priests, in which to place food and water for the spirit of the deceased, to which incense, formed by placing heated stones in urns of cocoa-nut oil, is also offered.

WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have 578 been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*.

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the [728] rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either.

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity 628 of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The 721 second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or [782] stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults.

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

628 721 [302] tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hanging down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward the lower section by a little cylinder of bone *(puo)*, a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana (umu*, oven; *heana*, human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and brought home. [266] Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, 721 according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa,* had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i (pa'e,* head-dress; *vi'i,* to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua,* with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a coconut tree shredded into small strips *(kahu koua'ehi),* a sign of *tapu.* Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch [202] trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into battle, however. [534] When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua,* or *pa'e vi'i toua,* was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war *(utu po)* consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae (oho,* be angry; *tae,* accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto (tuhi,* sign; *toto,* blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe (tamoe,* watch at night with dead; *oe,* you), in the evening (7).

WAR LEADERS AND FIGHTERS

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would 701 appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later.

The actual war leader was called *toa,* which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

701 through prowess, as a result of strength, skill, and fearlessness, which singled a man out as being a leader in battle. The *toa* should not be called war chiefs, because it is clear that they functioned only as assistants of the tribal chiefs in organizing the tribe for war, and that in the totally unorganized fighting they were merely leaders by example. When the fighting men of the tribe, who were called inclusively on Nuku Hiva *mata hoka (mata,* eye, face; *hoka,* courageous), were summoned, it was to the *toa* that the chief gave his orders. The *toa* went himself to perform the duty or sent someone else. It was frequently, perhaps usually, an administrative *tuhuna* who went as *pa'e vi'i.* As an executive under the chief, the *toa* had also policing duties, if they may be called such. If, for instance, servants in the chief's house had displeased him, had left his establishment, or had insulted him by breaking a *tapu,* the chief would send one of his *toa* after the culprit to kill him. In battle, the *toa* went ahead of other fighting men, demonstrating their valor, seeking to add to their reputation for prowess, and at the same time stimulating the bravery of the tribesmen behind them, who were inspired to emulate their fighting.

THE WARRIOR'S HOUSE

712 A large house that stood on its own platform and was built in the
344 usual style of native dwellings, though of greater length, was a part of
the chief's establishment and as such was near his house and the dance
area of the tribe. This house served more or less as a gathering place for
men during peace times. But its main function was as an eating and
sleeping place for men during the times of *tapu* on account of participa-
tion in fighting—times at which all association with women was absolutely
forbidden. I never succeeded in obtaining any generic name for this
[552] house. Every house of this type, on Nuku Hiva and also on Hiva Oa, had
its own particular name. For instance, that of the warriors of the Pa'aha-
tai tribe at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, was named Fiti Nui. This was not on
or near the *tohua* of the tribe, but stood on a small hill on the southern
side of the valley in a small stockaded fort named Akahua. Pua Ma'u
warriors had also on the plateau behind their valley another sleeping house
in which they stayed and ate during the wars that took them into that
region. The warriors' house of one of the tribes in Tai o Hae was called
Ha'e Mamane *(ha'e,* house; *mamane,* wrath); that in Tai-pi valley Mel-
ville calls Ti (Tai or Tae); that in Haka Ui was named Oho Toka. The
fighters had their food brought to them in the warrior's house by men
who were not combatants, never by women. The warriors' house at
Taiohae was described to me as being not only a sleeping and eating place,
but also a place in which the instruments, ornaments, and dress used in

war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that 712 this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description: 344

> In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.
>
> On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

> Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear 292 in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi oiwoho*, or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it 714 [304]

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714
and their prowess gave them the means of acquiring the articles of self-decoration through the admiration of their fellow tribesmen, through the generosity of their chief, and through the acquisition of booty from defeated opponents in battle. The *ta'avaha,* a great radiating semicircle of tail feathers of the tropic bird and black cock's feathers, which surmounted the warrior's forehead above a pearl shell ornamented with appliqued carved tortoise-shell (see Dress and Personal Adornments), constituted the chief insignia of the war leader. A second article of dress, which some informants say was exclusively restricted to war leaders *(toa)* was the *kahu ko'oko'o* (Hiva Oa) or *kahu ku'a* (Nuku Hiva), which was either a long robe of cloth draped on the back and hanging to the ground, or a short mantle hanging over the shoulders and tied around the neck. The long robe was sometimes called *kahu ma'o (ma'o,* full length.) The material of this robe or mantle appears sometimes to have been the sacred white and sometimes the red bark cloth. Porter (24, p. 84) describes these articles of dress as follows:

> They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders.

These robes were very *tapu* and were always kept in the warriors' house. It was forbidden to step on them, they were never worn while a man ate or smoked, a woman who put one on would die.

[30] Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the head and held by a band that ran over the head. The large whales' teeth ear ornaments, *hakakai,* were sometimes worn also with the broad end standing out before the ears. Garcia (14, pp. 88-89) describes warriors wearing great whales'-tooth collars. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a necklace made of boars' tusks. The loin cloth of a warrior was of red bark cloth and had a pendant tailpiece in which were tied many knots. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a fringed waist cloth of a warrior as follows: "The loins of the warrior were girt about with heavy folds of a dark-colored tappa, hanging before and behind in clusters of braided tassels." Over the loin cloth was worn a skirt of human hair *(titi ouoho).* A shoulderpiece of human hair, like a boa, held together on the breast by a large whale's tooth, was also sometimes worn on Hiva Oa—this was worn over the *kahu ko'oko'o.* In addition, small ornaments of hair were worn on the wrists and on the ankles. These ornaments for the ankles were frequently made of feathers instead of hair. The flowing of the hair and feathers in the wind, as the warrior ran, gave the impression of great speed. A customary part of the ornamention of a war leader or of any

fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back 292 suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to 714 the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle."

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to 411 warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for [226] shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war.

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of [824] casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c*.) Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed:

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taukeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

411 of ironwood: ***matakena, matikio, matikena, matikeo,*** lance: ***maaeki,*** lance of pandanus wood; ***kohaa,*** weapon of pandanus wood; ***kaaeki,*** wooden lance of ***eki*** bush; ***epu,*** kind of lance. The ***miomiota*** or ***miopatu*** was a lance made of rosewood. My information is that spears were never thrown in

[531]

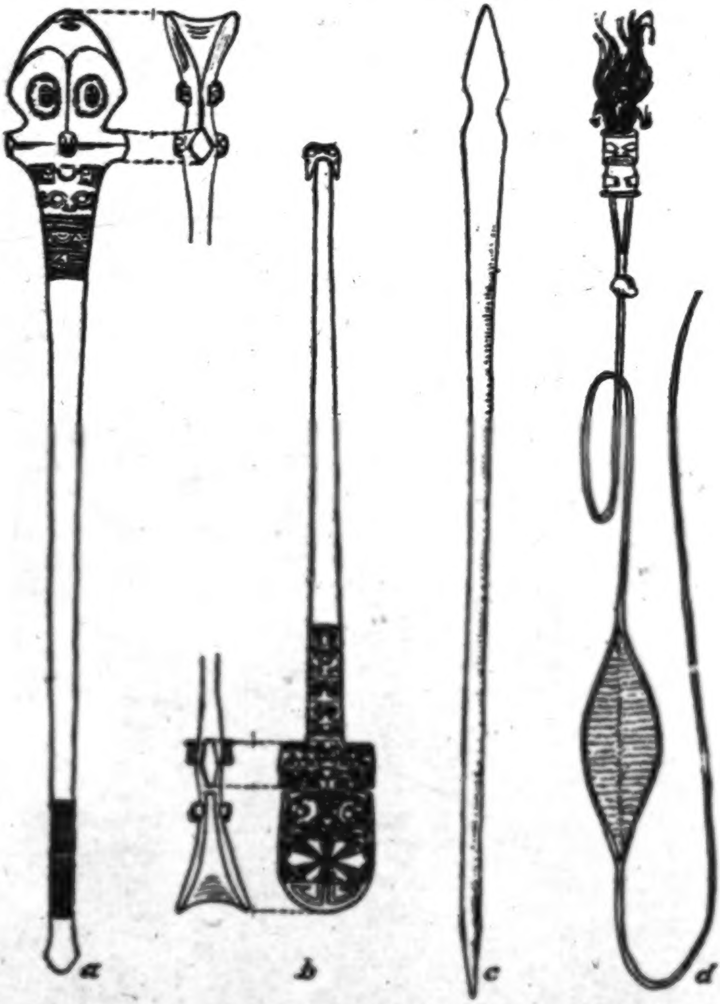

FIGURE 12.—Weapons of native warfare: *a, b,* war clubs; *c,* spear; *d,* sling.

war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's description just given. The sling, ***maka,*** made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d); it* was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones *(ke'a pehi hua)* were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). ***Kahuka ke'a*** were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called ***ake henua*** consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders. 41

WAR RITES

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actually offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati*, relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7). 726 [776]

The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Père Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hiko"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the sea. This made them *tapu*, removing any influences due to association with womankind. [783]

726 with womankind. Before the party set out for battle, they went through the ceremony called *Kouka*, the object of which was to insulate them against the missiles of the enemy. The warriors proceeded to the temple led by the *auhuna o'ono*, all holding in their hands peeled stalks of young fau wood, ornamented with small bands of the sacred white cloth. Singing the chant called *kouaka*, as they went, they arrived at the temple and thrust the fau wands they were carrying into the thatch of the house set apart for the inspirational priest. The ceremonial priest then addressed to the god a prayer in which it was said, "May such and such a people be vanquished." All the warriors thrust out their arms, then folded them, and shouted, "Our enemies will be for us like cockroaches."

[782] Pigs, fish, tapa cloth, and human victims were offered before battle. These sacrifices were called *houtu toua (houtu*, offering to gods; *toua*, war).

After battle the people who had lost one or several warriors sometimes performed the rite called *vai toto* A little of the earth that had been [789] stained with the blood of the warrior was taken and in the night, at some point above the enemy settlement, was put into the stream from which the enemy obtained their water. Those of the enemy tribe who drank of the water containing this charm were supposed to perish in the next combat.

726 537 While it is evident from the following description by Melville that there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says (23, p. 160), describing a speaker:

> The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet.

BATTLE

726 War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa*. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata toi*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!*: alas!

alas! alas! (9). Dordillon gives the word *toakaihau* as meaning the cry uttered by women during combat; and *tomoo*, a cry of encouragement by women. The inspirational priest sometimes went with the warriors and stood on a high point from which he could watch the combat, uttering a spell to cause the missiles of the enemy to go into the earth rather than into his people (9). It is said that the ceremonial priest remained at the temple chanting. Porter (24, p. 88) describes one method of showing derision of the enemy: "They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision." Other methods of showing derision consisted in sticking out the tongue, and holding down the under margin of the right eye with the forefinger. Porter (24, pp. 86, 89) describes their manner of fighting as follows: 726 [201]

> Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, etc., etc., advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war clubs, and carried off in triumph. It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

Porter also describes the raiding of enemy parties into valleys, destroying houses and plantations and killing breadfruit trees by girdling. As soon as a victim was obtained, the raiding party would retire from the field. In prolonged wars the warriors returned every evening to their sleeping and eating houses, resuming the combat next morning. It is impossible to tell how sustained and how bloody were wars in the ancient days. Hiva Oa informants insist that there was one great war in which all the eastern end of the island fought all the western end, all the warriors of the former being slain. It seems very doubtful whether there were any engagements of a very serious nature, since to the native fighting was entirely a matter of individual personal combat, quick assault, and quick flight or pursuit. There appears never to have been any genuine organization of fighting men.

The first victim slain in battle was always slung on a pole, like a pig, between two men and carried home to be offered to the tribal god. The body was carried to the temple and presented to the priest, who placed it on the altar (*ka'au*) and left it there (9). 727

727 Porter (24, pp. 88-89) describes plundering by his victorious allies:

> The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household untensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them.

Stealing the enemies' images was the custom with victorious parties. Unless the attack was very sudden it is probable that none of the personal property of a people would be secured by the victors, with the exception of the ornaments worn by slain warriors, for the women of the defeated warriors used to pack up in small bundles all the portable wealth and carry it away with them.

[778] When the warriors of a tribe were completely defeated, the whole tribe took flight from their valley. There were no sacred places of refuge in the Marquesas. Sometimes a defeated people would be able to come back into their devastated valley, but sometimes it was held by the conqueror, and the refugees had to find homes elsewhere in a deserted region or among friendly tribes. A victorious chief would sometimes be clement [722] and allow the defeated tribe to stay in their valley. Before a battle women, children and old men either took refuge in a place of refuge or in the mountains or held themselves in readiness for flight in their valley. It is said that old men and women were often left, and were massacred and eaten by the victors (14, pp. 85-86). Frequently tribes that expected attack and the consequent necessity of flight had canoes built and held in readiness for escape by sea. Defeated people were called on Hiva Oa *po'i hina* (*po'i*, people; *hina*, overthrown) and on Nuku Hiva *moehu*. Refugees might be absorbed by the victorious tribe but they were never made slaves or vassals. Dordillion gives *tapu hao fenua* as the name of a festival after the defeat of a war party (9).

CAPTIVES OF WAR

From the manuscript of Dordillon come the following notes regarding the war ceremonial. When a victim was captured in battle, he was brought to the dance area and presented to the ceremonial priest who was wearing a coconut leaf headdress. The warriors stood around, and, led by the priest, they cried, "*Ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka.*" The god then entered into his priest and cried through his mouth "*A u u u u-a! Au u u u-a! Mai te mata! Mai te mata!*" (Enter in! Enter in! Bring the eyes! Bring the eyes!) The old men singers forming the chorus assisting at the rite, cried, "*Aua!*" three times. (It is evident that the scene of activity was then transferred to the temple attached to the feast place.) *Ka'aku* was then put in the mouth of the inspirational priest with the back of the hand, also pork and fish, which he ate—this was the feeding of the god through his priest. When the war was over, the tribal god would say through his priest, "Celebrate a festival in my honor." A house of the same form as the dwelling was made at the feast place. *Popoi* was prepared, fish in baskets, pig, and so on. The ceremonial priest cried out an invitation to the feast, naming the victuals. The pigs were then divided among the different allies. On the next day the feast was opened by the ceremonial priest, who shouted the announcement that all was ready. After the feast there was dancing to the beating of drums and then all the people went home. 727

TAPU GOVERNING WARRIORS

It has already been said that any association with women during war was forbidden to warriors. Pēre Siméon (7) states also that *kava* drinking was forbidden. If a man quarreled with his mother before going into battle, he would surely be slain. After a man had made a killing, either in war or otherwise, he was *tapu* for ten days (18, p. 133). During this time he could not cook for himself and he had to be served by another. Like a warrior, a gun or spear which had killed a man was *tapu* for ten days; and such a weapon was given the name of its victim (9). 726 784

TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9). 722 726 784

After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'ani* 726 784

726 784 (*va'a*, canoe; *ani*, sky) as a word meaning a litter for carrying chiefs in triumph. The *ko'ina heana* (see Festivals, Cannibalistic Feasts) followed a war and celebrated the capture of victims.

SIMPLER WARFARE

RAIDING

628 726 The simple war practice of raiding, which is to be characterized as head-hunting, was called *moe oe (moe,* sleep, dream; *oe,* ?, you). The phrase signified going by way of the bush and the hills at night, entering a man's house and cutting off his head. The head was brought home in triumph and presented to the priest at a sacred place. One informant said that on account of this head-hunting, men always slept outside their houses, the women only sleeping inside. This was doubtless true in some exposed valleys. *O te pae* described the custom of hiding in the bush until a victim passed, when he was speared or struck and carried home to be eaten cooked or raw. *Utu po* was a night raid when a house was surrounded by men who awaited the early risers and pounced upon them (9).

Many of the raids for revenge and sacrifice victims were made by sea and frequently at night. Whether the raiders came by night or by day their method was to surprise a man, woman or child on the beach or rocks and to make off with their prize before the tribe was aroused. The way in which the valley at Pua Ma'u was raided by such parties in the the old days has been described to me as follows: People used to come from Hana Pa'a'oa in large canoes to obtain victims in Pua Ma'u. Four men sat on each seat of the canoe, two with paddles and two without who acted as reserves, taking the paddles when the others were weary. The canoe safely hidden behind the headland on the south side of the bay, one warrior would climb up the hill and watch for people coming down to the rocks to catch crabs. When he signalled to the men in the canoe, they would draw near and land a party to pounce upon the victims and make a speedy retreat. Their triumphant yelling as they were speeding across Pua Ma'u bay caused great commotion among the inhabitants of the valley.

CANOES FOR RAIDS

716 726 For more elaborate organized expeditions by sea to atack an enemy many canoes were necessary. A preliminary of such a war was the building of war canoes. These canoes were merely for transportation or for attacking an enemy on shore from the sea. There seems to have been little that might be characterized as marine warfare, since attacks were

always made at a time when the canoes of the enemy were unprepared to meet those of the attacking party. 716 726

War canoes when they were not in use were either entirely taken apart and their parts distributed among different families, or they were placed in a house near the shore or possibly far up the valley on the feast place of the chief who owned the canoe. Porter (24, pp. 101-2) describes war canoes as follows:

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl shells strung on coconut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Cook (6, p. 299) describes canoes with heaps of sling stones in the bow, the crews armed with slings. In the story of Pohu is mentioned a double war canoe made of two canoe bodies with a platform built up between, the platform being surrounded by a rail that was decorated with tapa and ornamental sennit. In this canoe every seat was named. The crew mentioned [552] in connection with it were a steersman, a man in command on the platform *(papuo)*, the paddlers, bailers, and a woman to chant the tribal genealogies. The informant who recounted to me the story of Pohu told me that war canoes were always taken apart on their arrival from a raid. Bodies of victims were thrown on the bow piece of the war canoe (20).

TREATMENT OF CAPTIVES TAKEN IN RAIDS

727 Captives who were taken alive to the tribal feast place to be sacrificed were called *tinaka*. Those destined for the tribal god were taken into the temple, where they were killed and sacrificed with the reciting of the chant called *haihai heana;* the body was suspended in a coconut tree, left there for three days, then cut up and buried in the ground (9). (See Human Sacrifice). The heads of all victims were presented to the tribal god, were consecrated in the temple, and were then returned to the captor, the eyes, however, being given to the chief. Those victims that were [266] destined to be eaten were killed on the feast place and there cut up and distributed. *Hanoa* meant to attach a victim to a pole in order to carry him (8). *Ta ika (ta,* strike; *ika,* fish) was a term applied to those who went to search for human sacrifices, and the words *tau ta ika* meant to go in search of human victims. An enemy was called *ika, fish*. Naked captives and dead bodies were brought back slung on a pole between two men. *Hauiui* was the god who presided over the carrying of human victims on the shoulder pole *(amo.)* Those who carried the body to the feast places were covered with coconut leaves shredded into small strips, indicating that they were *tapu*. Before carrying the body into the feast place, they went to the temple, and, taking a pig that had been fed by the attendants of the sacred precincts, they dismembered it alive and ate it while the flesh was raw and bloody. They had to eat standing (4).

TORTURE OF CAPTIVES

Victims that were obtained definitely to revenge the death of a tribesman were treated with far greater cruelty than those who were merely war captives or sacrifices demanded by the gods. Such revenge victims were subjected to extreme torture, which appears to have been the expression of a frenzy of revengeful hate resulting from extreme concentration upon the thought of vengeance. Langsdorff (18, p. 150) describes the tearing open of a victim's skull on the field of battle and the eating of his brains on the spot. Krusenstern (16, p. 180) was told that warriors tore off the heads of their victims and sipped the blood.

The manuscript of Père Pierre (4) gives a number of terms describing various modes of treatment of captives and victims for sacrifice and eating. *Heaka tutu pohue una* meant to burn the victim alive; *kopu kiki* or *kopu epo tikao me te poo kenae,* was applied to the pulling out of the entrails of living victims by inserting in the orifice of the anus sticks of thorny *kenae* (flamboyant); *heaka hi* (*hi,* to fish with a line,) is described as consisting in attaching a victim to a hook, throwing his body into the water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. 727 In the rite called *vai titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the sea-shore (9). One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i,* to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke,* to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice (4). Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils.

CAPTIVES AS WAR PRIZES

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior [551] who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The *pudendum* of a woman was sometimes atached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess (4). Fingers were saved and worn on the loin cloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum cord binders, and fish hooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loin [714] cloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff (18, pp. 149-50) describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand (22, p. 116) tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. The following is Melville's description (23, p. 265) of skulls that he saw:

> The skull was in a state of perfect preservation, and from the slight glimpse I had of it, seemed to have been subjected to some smoking operation which had reduced it to the dry, hard, and mummy-like appearance it presented. The two long scalp-locks were twisted up into balls upon the crown of the head in the same way that the individual had worn them during life. The sunken cheeks were rendered yet more ghastly by the rows of glistening teeth which protruded from between the lips, while the sockets of the eyes—filled with oval bits of mother-of-pearl shell, with a black spot in the centre—heightened the hideousness of its aspect.

727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka*
was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had
765 been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself
in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was cus-
[302] tomary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and
ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed,
could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal
266 god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been
602 captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

or friends, came together, war being *tapu*. Those visiting in an unfriendly 728 or enemy valley always came, however, armed against possible eventualities, and held themselves ready to depart suddenly, for such times were frequently chosen by the inspirational priest to quickly terminate the festival and announce that his god was demanding human sacrifices.

The making of peace was called *e ha'a oa i te toua* or *ha'a tatae* or *tutuki me* (8) and the coconut leaf (*koua'ehi*), the formal sign of peace, was called *kopiti koua'ehi*. (*Kopiti* meant to make an alliance.) When a proposal for peace war made, a representative of the aggressors came upon the hills near the enemy valley and shot off his gun in their hearing. He was then allowed to come and make his proposal. According to Père Siméon (7) at the time of making peace a sacrifice called *heaka vai titi* was offered at the temple. Peace having been agreed upon the pact was sealed by the offering of a victim. Another account says that a messenger seeking peace would go to the enemy carrying a *temanu* branch ornamented with white bark cloth, this symbol being called *manumanu*. This insured safe conduct to its bearer who was known as *pa toua*. The rite of *heaka vai titi* is described by Père Jean (19) as follows:

> When two people were at war, a woman was captured, her body was anointed, decorated with ornaments, and burnt on the sea-shore on a pyre. The ashes were allowed to fall on the shore and to be carried away by the sea. Any women who witnessed this rite would die.

The major formality for peace making, called *hami oa*, was that which was used also for sealing permanent alliances between tribes. Human victims and a tortoise were carried to the temple of the other tribe by the people of the tribe making the pact or peace. The principal priests of the respective tribe received the sacrifices, offered them to the god, and promised that thence forward there would be peace between the tribes—that they were allied, *kopake* (9). An alliance thus sealed was also called *pona hu'u kopake* (*pona*, knot; *hu'u*, riches; *kopake*, allies). Garcia [825] speaks of the great value on Nuku Hiva of turtles and of their use by chiefs as gifts in making alliances with other chiefs. The following note of Mr. Linton's evidently describes an example of this exchange of sacrifices and appears to indicate that the custom of exchange between tribes thus allied was more or less permanent:

> The last *heana* in Pua Ma'u was sent by the queen of Moea, Tauahapaia, to the chief of Pua Ma'u. The body was taken to the *me'ae* (temple) of Pou Ani, and left there. The arrangement was a reciprocal one, *heana* taken by the Pahati being carried to Moea and exposed in the *me'ae* there. This was a recognized method of cementing alliances.

728 There is an interesting native story of a feast place on the road which runs overland between Atu Ona and Hana Iapa which belonged to two men from the Ha'a Mau region, the people of which were bitter enemies of the people of Atu Ona. At this *tohua* it is said that in recent times [486] these men used to exact from all travellers tribute in the form of personal property, such as ornaments or clothing.

FORTS AND PLACES OF REFUGE

712 Forts, places of refuge, and observation posts were used throughout the group. As terms for these Dordillon gives *pa*, *papuhikatu* and *hakaua* (8). At Atu Ona there is an observation post high on the mountain ridge which juts out on the western side of the valley, overlooking the valley of Ta'a Oa and the road over which warriors from that valley had to pass. In Haka Ui valley on Nuku Hiva, off the western side about half way up, there is a tiny valley that is completely walled in by a high mass of basalt. The only entrance to this is a hole in the lower side of this wall. Inside, I was told, there used to be water and pits in which to store breadfruit paste for feeding refugees. This was an impregnable place of refuge for the inhabitants of this valley. At Haka he Tau on Ua Pou on the summit of the ridge forming the western side of the valley, there is a long platform that served as a place of refuge for women and children during times of war, and also as an observation post. In the upper section of this valley is another fort, which I did not see, that was described to me as a walled enclosure. This was regarded as a very much better place of refuge, as it was provided with water and with pits for preserved breadfruit paste. Remains of the ancient wooden stockades are, so far as I know, not to be seen anywhere today. These are described by Porter (24, p. 82) as follows:

> They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require Europeon artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones.

The appearance of a large fort in Tai-pi Valley is also described by this writer (24, p. 108):

> We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving

> and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It 712
> formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity.

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of plat- 461
forms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be 462
characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a 463
means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving.

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata,* meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna.* The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually
did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly [556]
have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui,* meaning great *tuhuna,* was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and

463 knowledge, one who was learned in many ways. There was no organized associations of *tuhuna*, such as that of the priestly orders in Hawaii.

Following is a list, not to be regarded as complete, however, of the different kinds of *tuhuna*:

TUHUNA HAKATU FA'E or TUHUKA ATU HA'E. Master housebuilder; the same as TUHUNA HAKATU PAEPAE, or TUHUKA UPEUPE PAEPAE, master platform builder.
" TEKAI KE'A. Stone cutter, one skilled in cutting stones for platforms, houses, sacred places, and feast places.
" UA MA. Digger of *ma* pits.
" PEHE. Professional skilled in making string figures and applying them in decoration such as ornamental sennit designs.
" HA'A TIKI TIKI. Skilled wood carver.
" KEANA MOENA. Skilled mat maker.
" TEKAI KE'A TUKI POPOI. Maker of *popoi* pounders.
" KO'OKA. Maker of *popoi* dishes.
" A'AKA PAHU. Drum maker.
" TA'AI or TEKAI VAKA. Master canoe builder.
" TA'AI TIKI. Image maker.
" TA'AI or TEKAI PAPA, or TUHUKA TAO Coffin maker.
" TITI OUOHO. Maker of hair ornaments.
" TA'AI TOKOTOKO PIO'O. Staff maker.
" TUTU TAPA, or TUTU KAHU. Skilled cloth maker.
" A'AKA TAHI'I. Fan maker.
" HANA PA'A KEA. Maker of tortoise-shell crowns.
" PU TAIANA. Maker of *pu taiana* ear ornaments.
" TEHE. He who cut the foreskin.
" FAINU, TUHUNA APAU or TUHUKA HAIKA. Doctor.
" NATI KAHA. One skilled in witchcraft.
" PATU TIKI. Master tattooer.
" AVA-IKA. Master fisher.
" UPENA. Master netmaker, the same as the TUHUNA AVA-IKA.
" HA'AKEKAI. One learned in legends.
" MATA TETAU. One learned in genealogies.
" PU'E. Ceremonial priest who taught and chanted the *pu'e*.
" VAVANA. Ceremonial priest who taught and chanted the *vavana*.
" O'ONO. Ceremonial priest skilled in the last four named branches of learning.
" NATO. He who composed *nato* chants. (Similarly with other kinds of chants: TUHUNA POPE, TUHUNA RARI, etc. See Chants.)

WAYS OF BECOMING A *TUHUNA*

There were two ways by which a man or a woman could become a *tuhuna*: first, by having the knowledge requisite passed on by a father or mother, uncle or aunt or other relative—what may be termed by inheritance or the normal and simplest form of apprenticeship; secondly, by employing a recognized professional as teacher or by being employed by such as an assistant. If an individual possessed the capacity for learning and could acquire the skill requisite for the work of a *tuhuna*, he gradually worked through a sort of informal apprenticeship. In the art of tattooing, a master tattooer taught his son the art if he showed the ability 463 and desired to follow the profession; but he likewise taught others who came to him and served an apprenticeship as assistants in the tattooing operations. An old woman still living on the island of Fata Hiva, who is today recognized as a *tuhuna ha'akekai*, acquired her knowledge of legends and chants from her mother who built a special, consecrated house (*oho au*) in which to teach her daughter. This woman's mother had similarly become a *tuhuna ha'akekai* by being taught by her mother. The woman now living also built an *oho au* for the purpose of teaching her daughter but the girl was too stupid and would not learn. In other words, this is an example of direct family inheritance of this type of learning in the female line. I know of a male *tuhuna* that passed on his learning to his granddaughter, and of still another who passed it on to a niece and her husband. The only living tattooing artist (*tuhuna patu tiki*) now in the Marquesas, a very old man, whose designs are still to be seen on a number of natives, learned his art by becoming apprenticed to a man to whom he was related. The old man himself told me, however, that the art of tattooing was most commonly inherited in the male line from father to son, but that it could also be practiced by any man who had the talent to learn the designs by observation and to become proficient as an apprentice, whose duty it was to assist the tattooing master in the operation. When the master tattooer was convinced that such an apprentice had demonstrated his proficiency, the apprentice himself was accepted as a *tuhuna*. That is, I say, there was a tendency toward direct inheritance but no fixed rule regarding it and no restriction of knowledge to particular families.

TUHUNA AS A CLASS

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Food, cloth, ornaments, and the like, were given to *tuhuna* as payment for the practice of their profession and for their labor. The wealth thus acquired by the *tuhuna* and the prestige that their knowledge and skill gave them, brought it about that they constituted virtually a class by themselves. As a class they had very definite ceremonial and political functions. In the rites of major importance the *tuhuna* furnished from their ranks the choruses of old men who intoned the sacred chants. As the wise old men of the tribe the *tuhuna* served a very definite function in tribal matters as political advisors. It has been pointed out in the discussion of the social order that there were especial *tuhuna* whose whole function consisted in being executives of the chief. *Tuhuna* did not go to war, but were men who had served as warriors in their younger days. The *tuhuna* who ranked above all others and who served the most important tribal function was the *tuhuna o'ono*, master chanter, tribal bard, or cere-

463 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository
and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in
565 connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of
work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized en-
464 terprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 All work was consecrated, *tapu*, for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences.
784 The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accom-
plishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens
[787] were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as 461
the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption.

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts 284
of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone 322
adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) 386
and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber [283]
(*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa, Fiti nui, Fiti peka,* and professionals (*tuhuna pehe*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*pehe*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *maii* (*Terminalia sp.*) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.)

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven, and eight- 283
strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) 322
being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven [801]
prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In

283 designating the number of strands in a rope (*tou'a*), the word *tua* was
322 used as a prefix, *tua to'u* meaning to triple and *tua fa* to quadruple. Thus
tou'a tua to'u signified three-strang rope, *tou'a tua fa*, four-strand, and so on.

322 The adzes used in wood-work appear to have been always of stone,
although Quiros (25, vol. 1, p. 28) speaks of adzes of "thick fishbone and
412 shells." It appears that for the northern half of the group at least, the island of Ei Ao was a center for the industry of making adz heads, on account of good stone being found there, but the adzes were made everywhere out of the best available stone.

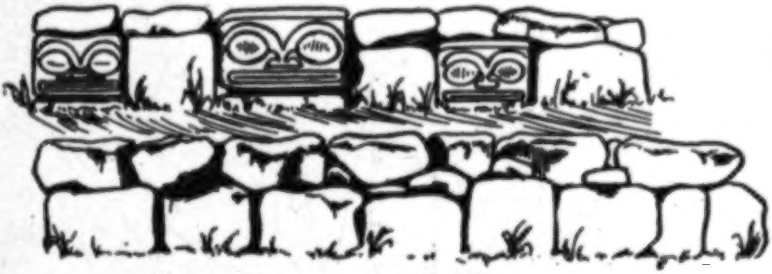
To'i (*or toki*), was the generic term for adzes. There were doubtless many special terms for various kinds but only a few of them are known. Among these are *toki paopao*, a large adz (8), *toki tui pu*, a very large adz with a handle four feet long for canoe-making, and *toki-ouao* (8), described by Dordillon. The adz handle consisted of a crooked piece of wood (fig. 16, *a*), usually *fau*, according to Linton. In a chant descriptive of canoe-making, *noni* is mentioned as being used for that purpose but that such was the case is very doubtful, as *noni* wood is too soft. Colored, ornamental sennit lashings were used in binding the head to the handle. A lashing mentioned in the chant above referred to was called *humu a*
[524] *Tana-oa* (lashing of *Tana-oa*). One of the string figures collected by
Mrs. Handy is called by the same name. The finding of this string figure furnishes us, therefore, with a definite and interesting example of the derivation of ornamental lashing designs from string figures. According to Linton the stone head was wrapped in bark cloth before being bound with the sennit, the cloth binding to the stone head better than did the hard coconut fiber. Sacred adzes (*toki mana*) were used in coffin-making.

STONEWORK

324 Only the briefest mention will be made of stonework since this is a subject studied and described in detail by Linton. Skilled professionals directed the labor of making the stone platforms (*paepae*), that were used in connection with houses, feast places, tomb-temples, and other sacred places. In platform construction a core of earth or rubble, or both, was encased by walls made of three types of stone: common blocks or boulders (*ke'a*), which are to be found everywhere in the valleys and streams, furnished the major part of the material used in the walls, roundish, smooth beach-boulders (*kiva*) were used for horizontal, ornamental rows in the side-walls of some terraces, and for sections of the top pavements; and squarely cut blocks (*ke'etu*) of soft, reddish, volcanic stone or coral served as a curbing to trim the edges of certain section of elaborate platforms

(*po'u akau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones 324
used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20).

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs repre- 324
senting human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone 532
carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting.



[778]

FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, 324
sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes.

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, 324
and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means 342
of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great 482
number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a

324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
482 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred
[461] yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu*, and required consecration of
the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

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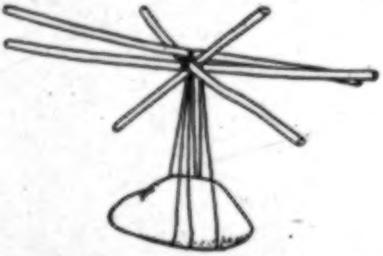

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta*, strike; *akau*, wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual
[587] building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during
the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who
was building it would die.

was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had 342 to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were 333 good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid.

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the 342 *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit [531] lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a back ground of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch.

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the god- 342 dess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ke'etu*) personified, is summoned to come 824 and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ha'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaoka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (*paea*) closing the front of the house.

uprights (*papa*) closing the front of the house. Just as the man who was going to build a new platform and house sent messengers (*ke'e'e*) to his various relatives and friends, summoning them to help and requiring them to bring the various articles such as stones, used in the construction—so the *pu'e* chant relates how messengers are sent to the personifications of the various elements used, summoning them to come and bring their contributions. When all the labor of construction and consecration of the new house was completed, the *ko'ina u'utina fa'e* (feast of entrance) was celebrated, releasing the new dwelling from *tapu* and freeing it for occupation.

THE HOUSE PLATFORM

House platforms (*paepae*) were rectangular, from five to ten feet high and of length and breadth to accommodate the house that surmounted it. Roughly the platform consisted of regular superposed lines of stream boulders (*kiva*) encasing a core of earth. On top there were two levels, a front lower level and a rear level about eighteen inches above the other on which the house itself stood, each occupying approximately half of the width of the surface. The upper level of some houses seen was faced with cut red stone blocks (*ke'etu*) which ran in line with the front edge of the house like a curbing, and behind which was inserted the front posts. The lower level in front (*paepae, upe*) of the house was usually open to the sky. Projecting stones were sometimes inserted into the front or side walls of the platform to serve as steps (*pi'ina*). The most common form of steps, however, consisted in a notched log. The cut red stone curbing of the upper section of some platforms was ornamented with high bas-reliefs of conventional human figures and geometric designs. Stone seats (*keho*) formed a part of some platforms, being made in two ways: either by using a long basalt column which was inserted at an angle and served as a back rest, or by carving out of soft red tufa, a seat with a sloping back. Melville (23, pp. 58-9) describes a house platform enclosed with a picket of canes that must have resembled a porch railing.

THE HOUSE

The details of the construction and a fuller study of house form will be found in Linton's report on the material culture. Briefly, the form of the native house, and its construction may be summed up by describing the general appearance, and the parts of the house. (See fig. 15.) The house was rectangular and stood on the elevated section at the rear of the platform running in the direction of the greatest length. The front (*ao*) was open in its lower section or else this space was closed with pickets of bamboo or hibiscus. Above this was a short front roof sloping from the horizontal joist, supported on short front posts, to the ridge pole. The ends of the house were closed with thatching, and the rear consisted of a single wall, sloping directly down from the ridge-pole to the rear of the *paepae* at a very steep angle, this wall being thatched also. The frame consisted of short front posts, supporting a joist to which the short front roof descended; two end posts that stood inside the end-thatching and supported the ridge-pole; the ridge-pole itself, rafters running from the front joist to the ridge-pole and from the ridge pole to the platform in the rear; horizontal rods attached to these rafters running the length of the house along the back wall and under the front roofing to which the thatching mats were tied; and at the ends vertical rods, running from the ridge-pole to the ground, to which were attached horizontal rods on which the end thatching was bound.

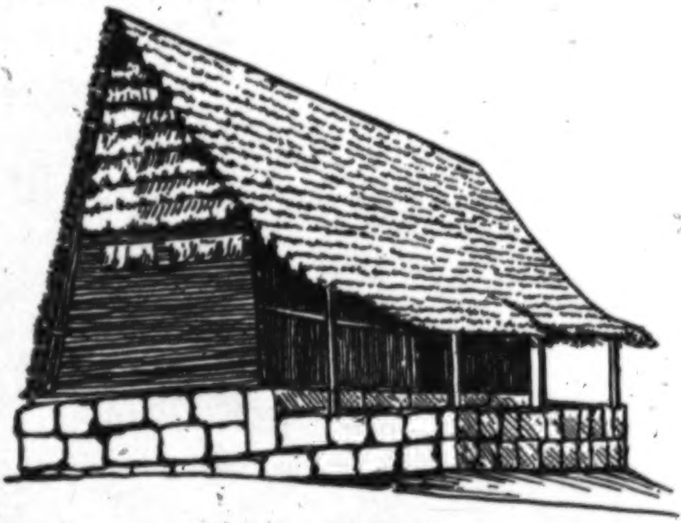

Figure 15.—A native house.

The thatching (*uhi*) of the house consisted of mats of coconut leaves bound over the ridge pole and lashed to the horizontal rods passing beneath it; the short front roof and the long back wall were thatched usually with coconut leaf mats, though sometimes with pandanus or palmetto; the ends were most commonly thatched with breadfruit leaves strung on cord. If the front part of the house was closed there was a door between the two middle posts. Melville (23, p. 275) describes a slide door "composed

342 of a dozen or more bits of wood ingenuously fastened together by seizings of sennit." Linton found that strips of wood were used to close the doorway in Pua Ma'u.

342 531 The interior of the house was divided lengthwise into two sections, the *ae'ae,* which was paved with smooth polished beach stones (*kua*) being in front, while the whole back section was made up of the bed space. Ornamentation of houses consisted in the adzing of geometic designs on both front and end posts, and occasionally the carving of the front posts into caryatid-like figures cut in the round. The figures carved on the end posts probably faced inward. Ornamental sennit lashings, red, yellow, black, and white, bound the thatch to the frame and the parts of the frame to each other. These carved designs and ornamental sennit designs were placed so that they were seen and enjoyed by those lying on the bed space.

CANOES AND CANOE MAKING

Process of Manufacture

396 The following account of canoe-making is from Atu Ona, Hivo Oa. On the first day of the work the canoe-maker (*tuhuna vaka*) with his assistants, called *ta akau,* accompanied by a priest to recite the sacred chants (*tuhuna pu'e*), went up the valley where stood the *temanu* tree that had been selected. While the workers stood about the tree, the priest chanted the *pu'e,* recounting the growth of the world. Then the tree was felled, fire being used to aid in the accomplishment of it (according to Linton). This was all that was done on the first day.

On the second day the bark was removed and the work of roughing out the canoe body was begun and continued all day. A temporary shed (*oho au vaka*), open on all sides, was erected over the place where the work was going on. This building, like all other features of the enterprise, was sacred. All the workers were consecrated during the labor, sleeping at the *oho au.*

The whole body of the canoe was completed here. When this work was finished the new canoe body was carried on the shoulders of the workers to the sea where it was placed in another shed (*oho au veka*), which had been erected for the purpose on the shore. As the new hull was carried down the valley, the priest followed close behind chanting the *pu'e.*

The outrigger was made and fitted to the canoe in its house by the sea. When all the work was completed, the canoe and house in which it rested by the sea were decorated with short peeled stakes of fau (*koufau*), decorated with neatly woven green coconut leaves (*kapiripiri*), the reddish cloth made of the bark of the banyan tree, sacred white cloth and human hair. The human hair was omitted from the decorations of fishing canoes. The crew and warriors who were to go on board were embellished with materials similar to those used in ornamenting the canoe itself and new paddles with small images carved at the upper end of the handle were made.

Certain details of canoe building at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, supplement the above account. Four hundred men were employed in the building of a certain canoe at Pua Ma'u, working under the direction of four *tuhuna*. The work was done where the tree was felled and where a decorated house was erected for the workmen. Workmen and *tuhuna* were fed by the chief, twenty men being employed in this work. The place was *tapu* to women and to strangers. Any intruder from another valley would be killed and eaten. "When the canoe was finished a great feast was held at the place of manufacture, the workmen's house being decorated with ferns and wild vines."

In the sacred chant called *oho au o Motuhaiki*, which is part of the *tona pou* chant (see Chants), and which was probably used in connection with canoe-building, are mentioned the stages in the construction of a canoe: finding the tree, trimming it, felling it, measuring and cutting out the proper length, and hollowing the hull; then building the shed for it, placing the body on two log supports in the house, thinning down the sides, polishing the body with crushed coral; then naming the various parts attached to the hull, side-boards, bow, stern, seats, etc. The first master canoe-maker was, traditionally, Motuhaiki, who noosed the sun, so that he might have sufficient time to finish his work.

Canoes, like everything else, were named. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that new canoes were named after old ones that were worn out. Not only was the canoe itself named, but every part, the bow-piece, stern-piece, sideboards, seats, bailers, paddles, and so on.

LAUNCHING

Just before a canoe was launched, the crew and warriors were assembled about it in the *oho au*, and the *pu'e* was again chanted. The vessel was then carried into the water with all its paddlers and warriors aboard, the canoe and its crew alike being ornamented. Soon after a new war canoe had been consecrated and launched, the chief who owned it sent it to raid an enemy bay and secure sacrifice victims. It was for this purpose that the canoe had been built, and its consecration was not regarded as complete until its *mana* had been thus demonstrated. A chief would sometimes send his warriors to get victims at the time of the building of the canoe to give it *mana*.

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396 The recitation of the *pu'e,* creation chant of the world and nature, made the work complete by uniting the new product of handicraft with creation from its beginnings, right down through the growth of all things to the new canoe. (See Sacred Chants.) The bedecking of the canoe and its house had this ceremonial significance: the *koufau* were the sign of *tapu; hiapo,* the cloth that covered the loins of *tapu* men symbolized both power and sacredness; and the *kopinipini* embodied the same sense of sacredness that brought about the use of the coconut leaf as a head and body dress by priests, and as a sign of truce.

396 789 Mr. Linton found that in both Hana Hehe and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, it was the custom, when a war canoe was being made, for a warrior of great prowess to sleep on or in the log from which the hull was being formed, during the nights of the period of its manufacture. This was in order that the canoe might have imparted to it the qualities of *mana,* power, and luck, which the warrior embodied.

396 All canoes used for war or the work of fishing were *tapu* to all women except chiefesses or priestesses for the reason that their contact with the canoe would have profaned it, hence made it lose its power (*mana*). Canoes that were built for voyaging must have been an exception to this rule, for women accompanied their men on voyages. If a fishing canoe were profaned by the touch of a woman, it was purified by having hair burned on the bow (7).

TYPES OF CANOES

501 As full details of canoe construction are given in the work of another member (20) of the Marquesas party, the subject will be treated briefly here.

In the Marquesas there were craft of all kinds varying from those merely large enough for children to play in to the great exploring canoes. Porter gives excellent descriptions of the appearance of different forms of craft that he observed when he visited Nuku Hiva. His description of fishing canoes is quoted in the section devoted to fishing, that of war canoes under war.

Of canoes constructed for exploration Porter says (24, p. 103), "The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner." It appears that these canoes for exploration were frequently double—that is, made by lashing two canoe bodies together, leaving a space of several yards between. On the cross-pieces were laid bars forming a platform. So far as I have ascertained, the Marquesas' canoes never had a house on this platform. In the story of Pohu such a platform is described as having a rail around it. The supplies for a voyage were kept here and in the body of the canoe, and the people on board lived on the platform and below decks. According to a trustworthy Fatu Hiva informant, such a canoe would have two sails, the masts being stepped in the usual place in the forward end of each hull. War canoes and canoes for exploration—according to modern natives—were as much as sixty feet long. So far as I know, however, there is no record of a canoe of this size, although no limitation in the materials at the disposal of the native nor in his ability to utilize them would have prevented him from making canoes of this size or even larger. 501

Porter (24, p. 102) describes small temporary craft as follows:

> "They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

Materials for Canoes

Materials used most for canoe-making were *temanu, hutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), and *mi'o*. The size of the canoe desired frequently determined the choice of a tree. The *temanu* was the largest of the available trees, and furnished the most durable wood. According to Linton breadfruit trees were used for smaller canoes. 324 396

Parts of a Canoe[6a]

The main parts of a canoe consisted of the hull, adzed out of a tree trunk; detachable bow and stern piece; sideboards lashed on the edges of the gunwale; and an outrigger. 501

The main body or hull (*vaka, tua, tekee*) of the canoe was made of a hollowed single tree trunk. The bow (*piha, au'au, kanihi, hopeta*), a separate piece, was usually upturned, but both Cook (6, p. 711) and Stewart (26, p. 219) describe horizontal bows. Linton aptly describes the stern (*mu'i, hope au'au*) as narrowing "rapidly to form the tail, which was a long projection like a thick plank with the edge up, rising from the body of the stern piece at an angle of twenty to thirty degrees." (20.) The sideboards (*hue tana*) consisted of single hewn boards (*papa*) lashed (*humu*) to the gunwale of the canoe, but it is probable that the sideboards of some canoes were built up with several boards, for Porter (24, p. 79) described the sides as made of many pieces of the breadfruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibers of the outside shell of coconut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the coconut shell also.

[6a] The terminology is from Dordillon's ms. and from Linton's and my own notes.

Over the seams between the sideboards and the hull, both inside and outside, were strips made of wood or bamboo (*teka, vaho, teka oto, ta'i, patua*). Caulking of the seams at this place and at the point of attachment of bow and stern-piece was done usually with coconut cord fiber (*kaha*), or with feathers (*hu'u manu*). Langsdorff (18, p. 173) describes caulking with moss over which was rubbed resin from the breadfruit tree. Bulkheads in the body of the canoe are described by Porter. Seats (*papa tau*) for paddlers rested on an inner strip (*teka oto*) which covered the inboard seam between the sideboard and the hull. These strips were bound and held in place by sennit. The two rods (*kiato, hoa*) supporting the outrigger were usually fau poles; Marchand (22, p. 131) describes rods of bamboo. The supporting rods passed across the top of the canoe, being lashed to the top of each gunwale, or sideboard, by means of sennit that passed around the rod and through holes in the board. These lashings were ornamental

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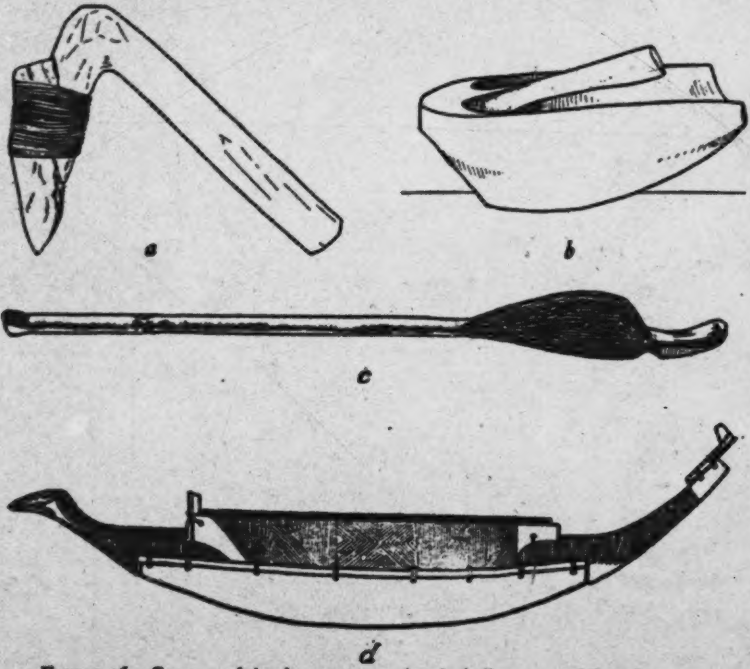

FIGURE 16.—Canoe and implements: *a*, adz; *b*, bailer; *c*, paddle; *d*, canoe.

and were called *teka*. The float (*ama*) of the outrigger (*ama*) was made of fau and was attached to the supporting rods by four or six small sticks (*ti'a ti'a*) which were inserted into holes on the outrigger float and bound on the supporting rods. The platform (*papua, hou'ua*) resting on the poles that held together a double canoe has been described. On all large single canoes used for fishing or for war there was at the stern an elevated platform (*papa'u*) on which the steersman stood. Stewart (26, pp. 211-20) describes "a high platform deeply fringed with the pendant leaves of a palm," on which the steersman stood on the stern of a canoe. Stewart states that in the bow of this canoe there was another platform made of small sticks covered with a mat on which was seated a man who was evidently a priest. 501

Sails (*ti'a, moena*) which were used on the smaller fishing craft and the large voyaging canoes were of the triangular, or lateen, type, and according to Linton were made of coconut leaf mats. It seems probable that pandanus mats were also used, particularly for voyages, on account of their greater durability. The mast was stepped in a hole (*puti'a*) in the bottom of the canoe and passed up through one of the forward seats (*pihao*).

The paddles (*hoe*) were made of rosewood. The handle ends were ornamented with a small *tiki* figure and the blades with designs similar to those used on bowls. The lower end of the paddle blade always terminated in a long rounded point. (See fig. 16, *c*.)

The bailers were made of *mi'o* or *temanu* wood and were "shaped like a sugar-scoop with the handle reversed—that is, projecting forward over the cavity" (20). (See fig. 16, *b*.)

Ornamentation of Canoes

The main decoration of canoes was by means of carving and ornamental lashing. Bow and stern pieces were carved with the ornamental adzed designs (*tiki*) used on house posts (See fig 16, *d*). Some modern informants say that tattooing designs were also applied on these parts. This is true at least of canoe models. I believe with Mr. Linton that this type of carving was not used on the large canoes of ancient times. Ornamental lashings (*pu'u koha*) the designs of which were taken from string figures, bound the supporting rods of the outrigger to the balancer and to the sideboards, and the sideboards to the hull, these lashings being made of sennit dyed red, yellow, and black. There was a conventional figure head, which was apparently always used at the forward end of the bow piece, consisting of a flattened conventionalized face. "There was a tendency to decorate the neck of the bow piece with figures carved in high relief or by the 501 531

501 attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

531 Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip [825] along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

502 Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e fitu touho*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*ava-ika*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*hapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

422 The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

> They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. 422

It is evident that the parts of such canoes would be distributed in the houses of the various owners.

Housing

At Pua Ma'u I was told that war canoes were always taken to pieces 504 when they were not in use. Here and at Atu Ona canoes were kept in special houses on the shore. At Atu Ona, the natives relate that a certain traditional canoe used to repose on two stone supports (*ano*) on the main dance place of the valley. One of these supports, a large block of basalt with a somewhat crescent-shaped concave top, is still on this dance area.

While on Ua Pou I learned that on that island the chief's war canoe was sometimes, if not always, carried on to the feast place before his house. It seems probable that it was the fishing canoes which were housed by the sea, and that the war canoes, which were more occasionally used, were those that were taken apart or that were kept in houses on the chief's dance area. Porter describes (24, p. 108) a place, which he calls the "public square," which he invaded far up Tai-pi Valley, and says:

> Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, [and] several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them.

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Tapa-Making

The finest bark cloth (*tapa*), called also *ute*, pure white in color, was 287 made from the bark of the *ute*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). 824 *Ute* furnished all the white cloth used ceremonially. The planting and cultivation of this tree is described in connection with Planting. A rougher, white cloth (*kahu mei*)—the most commonly used—was made of the bark of young breadfruit trees (*mei*, *Artocarpus incisa*). The sacred cloth called *hiapo*, reddish brown in color—a natural color, not dyed—was made from the bark of the branches or roots of the *hiapo*, the name given the young banyan (*aoa*). Dordillon (8) gives *ahatea* and *atea* as names of trees or bushes whose bark was used for *tapa*, while Jardin (15, p. 42)

287 says that *katea* (Alyxia) was used. According to this writer (15, p. 34), [824] the bark of *mi'o* was also *sometimes* used. The implements employed in making *tapa* consisted of a stone (*ke'a, kiva*), a wooden anvil (*tutua*) and the wooden beater (*ike*) (fig. 17). Cloth-making was a woman's industry.

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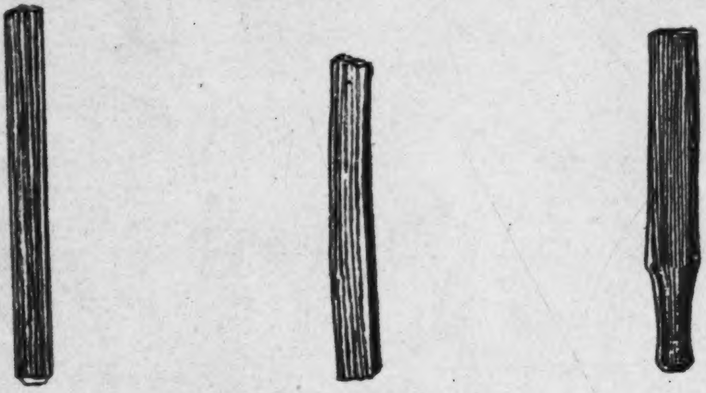

FIGURE 17.—Tapa beaters (*ike*).

The following simple and concise descriptions of making *tapa* in ancient times are translated and briefed from a manuscript written in the native dialect by Dordillon (9)—evidently copied from descriptions by a native:

> The breadfruit tree was climbed and a branch cut off with a sharp stone. The bark was pulled from the branch with the teeth and beaten for a long time on a stone with the wooden beater. The fiber was then worked in fresh water with the hands, after which it was bundled up and carried into the house where it was left four days. Being then brought out, it was beaten again on a smooth beach boulder, [366] then on a wooden anvil, after which it was put in the sun to dry. If the cloth were dyed (yellow *ena* furnished the only dye), it was soaked in the dye before drying. In the making of the ute cloth the stem of the paper mulberry plant is dscribed as being cut down, peeled, and the bark put first in water and then beaten to remove the inside bark. The fiber was then left in the house for some time, after which it was beaten and felted together, rinsed, and the cloth dried by being stretched out in the sun with stones laid on the border to hold it.

Melville (23, pp. 172-173) describes cloth-making in Nuku Hiva as he witnessed it:

> In the manufacture of the beautiful tapa generally worn on the Marquesan Islands, the preliminary operation consists in gathering a certain quantity of the young branches of the cloth-tree. The exterior green bark being pulled off as worthless, there remains a slender fibrous substance, which is carefully stripped from the stick, to which it closely adheres. When a sufficient quantity of it has been collected, the various strips are enveloped in a covering of large leaves, which the natives use precisely as we do wrapping-paper, and which are secured by a few turns of a

> 287 line passed around them. The package is then laid in the bed of some running stream, with a heavy stone placed over it, to prevent its being swept away. After it has remained for two or three days in this state, it is drawn out, and exposed, for a short time, to the action of the air, every distinct piece being attentively inspected, with a view of ascertaining whether it has yet been sufficiently affected by the operation. This is repeated again and again, until the desired result is obtained.
>
> When the substance is in a proper state for the next process, it betrays evidences of incipient decomposition; the fibres are relaxed and softened, and rendered perfectly malleable. The different strips are now extended, one by one, in successive layers, upon some smooth surface—generally the prostrate trunk of a cocoanut tree—and the heap thus formed is subjected, at every new increase, to a moderate beating, with a sort of wooden mallet, leisurely applied. The mallet is made of a hard heavy wood resembling ebony, is about twelve inches in length, and perhaps two in breadth, with a rounded handle at one end, and in shape is the exact counterpart of one of our four-sided razor-strops. The flat surfaces of the implement are marked with shallow parallel indentations, varying in depth on the different sides, so as to be adapted to the several stages of the operation. These marks produce the corduroy sort of stripes discernible in the tappa in its finished state. After being beaten in the manner I have described, the material soon becomes blended in one mass, which moistened occasionally with water, is at intervals hammered out, by a kind of gold-beating process, to any degree of thinness required. In this way the cloth is easily made to vary in strength and thickness, so as to suit the numerous purposes to which it is applied.
>
> When the operation last described has been concluded, the new-made tappa is spread out on the grass to bleach and dry, and soon comes of a dazzling whiteness. Sometimes, in the first stages of the manufacture, the substance is impregnated with a vegetable juice, which gives it a permanent color. [386] A rich brown and a bright yellow are occasionally seen, but the simple taste of the Typee people inclines them to prefer the natural tint.

The types of dress for which bark cloth was used are described in the section on Dress and Personal Adornment.

Mat-Making

285 Mat making (*u'u moena*) was also an industry to which women devoted themselves. The pandanus mats for the bed-space, and the coconut mat used for thatching and for padding the bed-space were made by individuals or by groups of women, usually relatives, or in the family of chiefs by women who were known to be skilled in the art, who were summoned for the purpose. Thus, if a chiefess desired to have mats made she would summon a group of women whom, during the time of their labor, she would feed and house in a special shelter (*oho au*) built for the work. For fine mats the pandanus leaves were split into small strips (*henu*) with a small stick like a needle (*ake*). (See The Family.)

Other Home Industries

Basket-making was also a function of women, but it was an industry that was little developed and was practiced merely as an incidental house-

285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been [552] common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

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[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

other paraphernalia, and the house in which was located the shrine used in the fishing rites. Secreted by being buried in the ground were the stone fish gods (*tiki*). At Ta'a Oa there was a stone platform on which the rites were performed, and the *tiki* were buried in it when not in use. 226 778

At Atu Ona the fishermen's sacred precincts were near the beach, midway between the present position of the pond and the gendarme's house. The place was last used in about 1880. The most important structure in it was the shrine (*oho au pu'e*), a large house devoted to chanting the *pu'e* in connection with the fishing rites. This house was so *tapu* that only the chief fisherman, who performed the rites, could enter. Inside were a small staging (*fata'a*) that served as an altar and two parallel rows of peeled fau stakes (*koufau*) wrapped with cloth and ornamented with coconut leaves which were woven around them. During the rites the stone image of the fishing god was placed midway between these two rows. The net was kept in another house (*oho au upena*), which was sacred. There were about ten other buildings in which the fishermen slept while there, cooked their food, and so on. The canoes were lodged in sheds (*oho au vaka*). I was told that the sleeping houses, the ceremonial house, and the house for storing the nets were all elevated on short posts with roofs coming to the floor on either side, ends closed, and a rectangular door in one end. The precincts as a whole were *tapu* to women.

Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites

Te Fatu Moana (*te,* the; *fatu,* master; *moana,* sea—the same as *Tanaoa*) was the principal god of the sea. Tupaaveko and Hahatai were the gods invoked by *peata* (a large fish) fishers, Avehie and Tohea by fishers of the ray (*haha'ua*), Aamoko by fishers of the tortoise (*honu*), Puhai by those who fished swimming with a line. Hahati was the patron of fishers in general. Anamaha, Puovo, and Eia Toke'e' were gods of fish nets. Moetai (*moe,* sleep; *tai,* sea) sent good winds (4), but Tana-oa was also god of the winds. 226 776

The small island of Fatu Uku, northeast of Hiva Oa, used to be a favorite fishing place for Pua Ma'u natives. There are coral reefs about the island, and fish are very plentiful. Hence the island was sacred to Tana-oa, god of the sea; fishermen used to land there and, on a stone platform built for sacrifice and consecrated to this god, made offerings of chickens and pigs' heads.

Religious rites connected with fishing appear to have been performed entirely at the shrine in the fishermen's precincts, never at the tribal temple. 226

226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this [781] line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being 226 restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general 784 *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in war time.) If she violated one of these regulations the expedition would be fruitless. Persons who had been made angry by not being given a sufficient share of fish sometimes caused the fishing to be fruitless by casting an evil spell on the net. To relieve the net of such a curse, it was necessary to cover it with ashes and briars (4). 226 784

Langsdorff (18, p. 137) describes fish as being *tapu* when breadfruit was ripening.

> Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young breadfruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connection of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

In the language of the Marquesas many fruits—notably kinds of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—have the same names as different kinds of fish. This *tapu* on fishing during the maturing season of breadfruit was, therefore, doubtless based on conceptions arising out of a belief in magical correspondence and balance of life on the land and in the sea.

According to Melville (23, p. 233), fishing was always done at full moon, but the natives at Atu Ona consider it as the least favorable time. Melville says:

> Four times during my stay in the valley the young men assembled near the full of the moon, and went together on these excursions. As they were generally absent about forty-eight hours, I was led to believe that they went out towards the open sea, some distance from the bay.

Fishing Festivals

Garcia (14, pp. 70-73) describes festivals that followed the fishing, saying that the *ko'ikaiko* was one that occurred frequently and not at stated times. At a feast following a fishing expedition, Garcia witnessed a gathering of seven or eight hundred people decorated in all their finery, presided over by the chief. There was music of drums and chanting; *ka'ioi*, oiled and stained yellow, were dancing and playing the clown. After this celebration on the dance area the fish were distributed on the seashore. Concerning the rites connected with this *ko'ina*, I have no information. It is probable that in some of these feasts religious rites must have had a prominent place including the offering of first fruits for the purpose of removing the *tapu* on the sea, and chanting with the object of increasing 226 776

226 796 the abundance of the fish. The people are described by Garcia as going to the shore after the fête on the feast place. In other words, it is evident that the purpose of the rite on the feast place was to raise the *tapu* on the fish—after the rite was completed the fish could be distributed. The order in which Garcia describes events is this: first, the general *tapu* during the fishing, demanding silence and inactivity on the part of the whole tribe; secondly, the assembly, drumming, chanting, and dancing on the feast place; thirdly, the distribution of the fish on the seashore; and finally, all the different families taking home their share to be eaten at their houses.

A returning fishing party or expedition sometimes distributes its catch at the shore and at other times the distribution was more formally made at the chief's feast place. Mr. Linton was told that people at Pua Ma'u would come with gifts to the shore to meet the fishermen. This custom has been described to me also by natives at Atu Ona and at Taiohae. (See the Legend of Pepeiu.) On the other hand it is known that large catches were frequently distributed from the chief's feast place. It is probable that the manner of the distribution varied in different valleys, and it seems likely that in the same valley smaller fishing parties might barter their catch on the seashore, whereas the more important deep-sea fishing expeditions sent out by the chief, particularly that at the opening of the season when the *tapu* was removed, would carry their catch or the greater part of it to the *tohua,* where there would be a feast and distribution. Melville (23, p. 234) describes distribution of fish in Taipi-vai as follows:

> As soon as the approach of the party was announced, there was a general rush of the men towards the beach; some of them remaining, however, about the Ti, in order to get matters in readiness for the reception of the fish, which were brought to the Taboo groves in immense packages of leaves, each one of them being suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men.
>
> I was present at the Ti on one of these occasions, and the sight was most interesting. After all the packages had arrived, they were laid in a row under the verandah of the building, and opened. The fish were all quite small, generally about the size of a herring, and of every variety of color. About one-eighth of the whole being reserved for the use of the Ti itself, the remainder was divided into numerous small packages, which were immediately dispatched in every direction to the remotest part of the valley. Arrived at their destination, they were in turn portioned out, and equally distributed among the various houses of each particular district. The fish were under a strict Taboo, until the distribution was completed, which seemed to be effected in the most impartial manner. By the operation of this system every man, woman, and child in the vale, were at one and the same time partaking of this favorite article of food.

FISHING PARAPHERNALIA AND METHODS

227 Before proceeding to describe in detail methods of fishing, it may be well to summarize briefly. Nets of all kinds were used—large ones handled

by four canoes for deep-sea fishing and various types and sizes for different kinds of fishing, grading down from these large nets to very small 227
ones for hand fishing used with or without a handle. Lines for making nets and for fishing with a hook were made either of coconut fiber plaited, of fau bark, or of a combination of the two. Fine cord for fish lines was made of the fibers of the pineapple leaf. Hooks were made of pearl shell and of human bone. Simple hooks and also the complex type were used for bonito, bamboo being used for the rods. For spearing fish there was a lance with a single point (*mata ve'o ika*), and a lance with many barbed points (*mata va'u*) (8). Porter (24, p. 113) describes both bone and wood points on fishing harpoons.

One of my best informed native co-workers insisted that fishing with rods (*te ika hi*), hooks, and lines (*te ika hahe*), or with spears (*te ika ve'o*) and torches was never practiced in ancient times. I am convinced, however, from the other evidence that hooks and lines and spears were used anciently. Porter describing the implements in use at the time of his visit, says: "Those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl." As to torchlight fishing, it is probable that this was dependent on safety. It would always have been too dangerous in certain bays, where the fishers would have been to obvious bait for enemy canoes seeking victims for sacrifice.

Snares were used for catching eels and shrimps, and fish traps were made of fau bark, but of what form is unknown. Fish were poisoned in rock pools by the sea and in the region of the rock shelves within the bays. So far as I know, fish ponds were never constructed—there were few places in the Marquesas where it would have been possible. Torches for night fishing were made of bamboo, of sugar cane, and of a reedlike grass (*kakao*) (15, p. 54). Fish in pools by the sea were sometimes killed with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts, or with sling stones. An unusual method of fishing consisted in swimming, drawing a hook and line in tow. For the private fishing small individual canoes were 227
used, but for the deep-sea fishing there were special craft, large and 501
small. Porter (24), p. 102) describes fishing canoes as follows:

> Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour.

227 The practice in the Marquesas of a method of fishing common in the Tuamotus and Tahiti is indicated by the translation of the words *auo'a, kauo'a* as given by Dordillon (8)—that is, the practice of hemming in fish in shallow water by means of long braids of leaves. This method must have been little used in the Marquesas on account of the rare occurrence of reefs and shallow water.

227 The process of making the cord for fishing nets was called *fi'o na aho.* For the work a special shelter (*oho au*) was erected and consecrated. This
286 was built in the form of the regular dwelling with a sloping rear wall ascending direct to the ridge, closed ends, and the lower half of the front fishermen. According to Dordillon (9) the fishermen had to fast three days before making the net. The manufacture of the net was accomplished in a consecrated shelter (*oho au*) by the seashore within the sacred precincts of the fishermen. The second netful taken in the deep-sea fishing with the new net was always given to the women who made the cord.

A festival (*ko'ina upena*) was celebrated at the seashore upon the completion of a new net. Food was prepared up the valley and carried down to the fishermen's precincts. All the tribe attended and feasted, but only those who were free from *tapu* were allowed to enter the precincts and the house where the net was kept.

DEEP-SEA FISHING AT ATU ONA

226 Deep-sea fishing and the net with which it was done were alike called *upena.* At Atu Ona, the evening before the men went fishing, the *pu'e* was always intoned in the ceremonial house by the *ava-ika-nui.* There were many images (*tiki*) of different fishing gods used, all the gods thus associated with deep-sea fishing being known by the collective term, *e au upena.*
[778] The *tiki* were small stone figures, some of them, if not all, carved roughly in the form of a fish. One *tiki* was used at a time, the others being kept buried in the ground. When a fishing venture had been unsuccessful during the time that a certain *tiki* had been presiding in the shrine, this image would be buried in the ground and another placed in its stead. The new image would retain the place as long as the fishermen's luck showed his *mana* to be efficacious. It is said that no fish was offered to the *tiki* here. At Ta'a Oa, on the other hand, I was told that the first fish were always offered to the god. It is probable that part of the first netful, which was reserved for the fishermen, was presented by them to their god.

The net was regarded as extremely sacred (*tapu oko*). It was square, from thirty to thirty-six feet across, and had on each side a strip of ironwood, to each end of which a line was attached. In the center of the net was a round basket-like section, like the crown of a hat, about eight feet in dia-

[Text continues on p. 172.—Analyst]

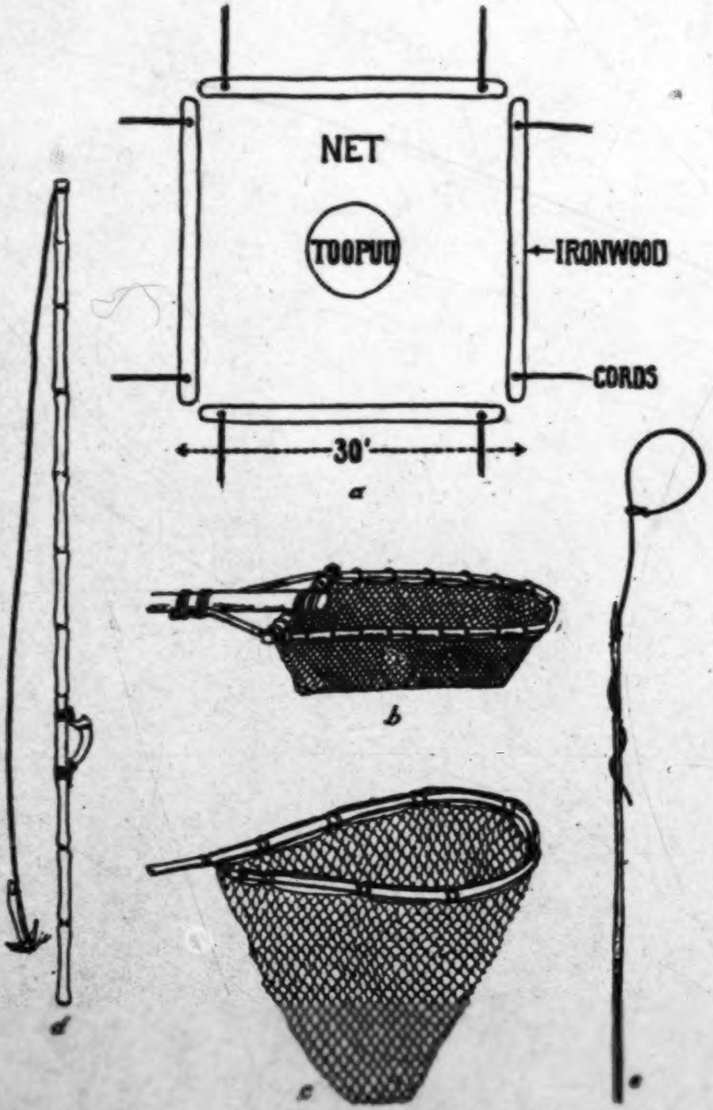
NET
TOOPUU
IRONWOOD
CORDS
30'
a
b
c
d
e

FIGURE 18.—Fishing apparatus: *a*, deep sea net; *b*, pole net; *c*, hand net; *d*, bonito rod; *e*, snare.

226 open. It was not placed on a platform, however, but rested on the ground.

Women made the cord, being summoned and directed by the master
226 net maker (*tuhuna upena*), who was a fisherman. Twenty or thirty women
would work for about ten days to make sufficient cord for one of the
283 large deep-sea fishing nets. During this period they were consecrated to
the work and remained in the *oho au* night and day, their food being supplied by the chief for whom the net was being made. The process of making the cord consisted in the preparation, first, of strips of soft, young fau bark, and, secondly, of coconut fiber. These materials were spun or rolled together to form a cord by the process called *fi'o*, which means to roll on the knee or thigh.

226 When the cord was completed, the nets themselves were made by the meter, which served as a trap into which the fish fell as the net was pulled up. This was called the *to'o pu'u* (fig. 18, *a*).

The fishermen put to sea about four hours before dawn. Four canoes were required for casting the deep-sea net. For the fish there were two large single canoes (*vaka nui*) as large as a war canoe, with crews of about eight men each. There were two small canoes each containing three men, each of which carried four anchors with their cords, two anchors at bow and stern being used to secure each of the *vaka nui* from which the net was handled. Part of the duty of the small canoes was to drop these anchors properly. This use of anchors indicates that at Atu Ona such fishing as is here described was not done in very deep water. Each of the small canoes had its separate name signifying its function: the *vaka fiti* (*fiti*, to go east) went to the east side of the place designated by the *tuhuna* for the night's work; the *vaka vaho* (*vaho*, outside) went to the other side. It is probable that each small canoe put down two anchors for each of the larger canoes, at the respective ends at which they operated. The place for fishing, and all operations were designated and directed by the *tuhuna*.

Arrived at the designated spot, the *upena* was let down by its eight cords until it lay on the bottom. The *tuhuna* then plunged overboard. By using his hands like telescopes he could see the fish and—so it is said—could even hear them when they went into the net. From the water he directed the operation, ordering the men in the large canoes and in the small ones, all of whom aided in handling the net, to pull up on this or that line. When the net was full the *tuhuna* gave the order for all to pull together. Sometimes one big catch would fill all the canoes.

The first netful was reserved for the fishermen. No woman might partake of it. The second netful, called *kuaho*, was reserved for the women who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share. 226

FISHING AT PUA MA'U

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

> The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred place was named Ke'eomana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. [776] There was in Mata Fenua[8] a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. [225] None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the Atu Ona story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'eomana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished .
>
> When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.
>
> On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. [252] The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned.
>
> On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs[9]. These songs, Matike, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.
>
> After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

SPECIAL METHODS OF FISHING

TURTLE FISHING

225

In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

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[8] The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

[9] The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological references; the most important god addressed is Tanaoa, god of the sea and fishing.

Fenua depended upon the speed with which the necessary number were obtained. During the time of the absence of the turtle fishers, the young men and women of the village gathered the grass on which the turtles (*honu*) fed and carried it up to the turtle tank. The turtles were kept alive for some time, and their flesh was *tapu* to all except the chiefs and priests. Even by these it seems to have been eaten at special feasts and the *popoi* pounders used to prepare the *popoi* eaten with the turtle flesh were *tapu* for other work.

In catching fish for feasts a large, round net was used. It was handled in much the same way as the large, square net described from Atu Ona. For turtles a large net made of fiber from coconut spathes, not the husks, was used. This net, which was straight, was called *fifi*. It was weighted at the bottom, and spread not far from the rocks in a place where the turtles were known to be numerous. The fisher-*tuhuna* dived overboard and drove the turtles toward it. When they had become entangled, they were tied, underwater, with cords of hibiscus bark, brought up, and put in the canoes. Ten to twenty turtles would be captured in a day.

The following notes regarding turtle fishing, also from Pua Ma'u, supplement Linton's description.

Certain professionals, *tuhuna*, devoted themselves exclusively to turtle fishing. Turtles were caught sometimes with a hook and line as well as with a net. Before putting down their net or line, a chant of the kind, called *mauta'a*,[10] a spell to give power, was intoned.

After this spell the lines or net were dropped and a great catch would result. On their return, before they landed they chanted another short chant to Tana-oa, god of the wind and sea.

These turtle fishers had stone images (*tiki*) made in human form. It is said today that they would leave these in their house when they went for the fishing ground, and that when they arrived there and began operations they would see them sitting up on the hillside on the shore near them. It is a belief concerning fishermen's stone *tiki* at Atu Ona that when they used to be taken out in the canoe and thrown into the water to draw the fish they would be found, upon the return of the fishers, to have come back of their own accord to the sacred precinct.

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[10] The text with translation is subsequently to be published. The same *mauta'a* with slight changes in the words was used also in connection with the operation of incision of the foreskin of the male child, and at the funerary festivals. It refers to certain gods, the heavens and lightning, the genitals of the chief, and ends with the words, expressed with great force, "It is the turtle, Ugh!"

KAOA FISHING

The professional fishermen devoted themselves sometimes to catching the *kaoa*, a small fish which at certain times was very plentiful in the bays. The net (*upena kaoa*) used was small and could be handled by two men. It was let down on the bottom in shallow water. Then the men struck the water with their hands, driving the *kaoa* into the net. 226

SHARK FISHING

Catching the hammer-headed shark (*matake*) was a more elaborate undertaking. For this there was a special net called *upena fiifiii*. This was a large, coarse net, the cords of which were made by women in the same manner as were those for the *upena*. The cords for the *fiifiii* were dyed red with red earth. In the process of making them the heavy cord was rolled on a piece of wood rather than on the knee in the way that the *upena* cords were made. One margin of the net was anchored to the bottom, while the other was held up by floats on the surface. If the *tuhuna* observed *matake* passing a certain point, ten or twenty nets would be put out at this place at night, left there, and taken in with their catch next morning. The *matake* were caught and held in the meshes of the net by their gills. 226 [286] [386]

Sharks were sometimes caught by the following ingenious method: (Whether or not this is a recently introduced method I am uncertain—the use of knives would suggest that it has been introduced.) A number of men would go out in a canoe, one man at the bow dragging in the water a piece of meat on a cord. The others had nooses of cord ready, being seated along the sides of the canoe. When a shark came up, swimming alongside, scenting the meat, one or two nooses were slipped over the fore and hind part of his body, the cords pulled taut, and the shark was killed with knives before it could injure the canoe.

CATCHING OCTOPUS

There were several methods of catching octupus (*feke*). One was by diving with several sticks, thrusting one of these into the octopus in its hole, waiting a moment until it had begun to occupy its arms with this, then thrusting the other into it in the same way. When all the arms of the octopus were occupied with the sticks, the body was seized with the hands and dragged out of the hole. The animal was killed by a bite on the top of the head, after which the stomach was quickly turned inside out.

Again, a line with three hooks attached to it was sometimes used. Near the hooks a white stone that could be seen under water was tied. This

226 stone was let down immediately over the octopus; the stone would attract its attention, and it would feel above for it with its arms. When a hook had taken hold of an arm the octopus was brought out of its hole with a sharp pull. Octopus was eaten both fresh and dried.

SPEARING THE RAY

The large ray fish called *fafa'ua* (*haha'ua*) was speared through one wing. This disabled the creature in such a way that it exhausted itself in trying to get away with one able and one disabled wing. The manner of preserving the flesh of the ray and eating it when partly putrified is described under Preparation of Food.

PORPOISE HUNTING

225 The bay named Vaiehu, in the island of Ua Pou, was the most famous for porpoise (*pa'a-oa*) fishing. The porpoise teeth used on head-dresses and necklaces came entirely, so far as modern informants know, from Ua Pou. At Vaiehu, when porpoises were sighted, many men would go out to seaward of them in canoes carrying stones. The stones were clapped together under water and the frightened porpoises were thus gradually driven toward the rocky shore of the bay, until they would rush and leap up on the shores, striking their noses on the rocks and, according to accounts, bleeding to death. Those that did not die in this way were dispatched with knives.

BONITO AND KUAVENA FISHING

226 The bonito (*atu*) was caught with the special rod and pearl-shell hook shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 18, *a*). Dordillon's manuscript speaks of a line made of *fau* bark and used with four hooks.

Dordillon describes the catching at Taiohae of the *kuavena*, a small fish about two inches long with a large, hard head. The men who were going fishing were obliged to fast from sundown and guard themselves against being contaminated by contact with breadfruit paste, women, or excrement of animals or men. At about three A.M. they went to the entrance of the bay with torches, by the aid of which the fish were lured and drawn gradually to the rocks that border the sea. Here they were caught by means of small nets on the ends of poles. According to Père Siméon (7), the chief fisherman ate in the early morning preceding the expedition, and slept all day. In the evening his limbs were rubbed with pigs' dung and he was carried on a man's shoulders to the shore to insure his not touching any impurity. If he had no one to carry him, he went in the day time.

CATCHING PAOKO AND FLYING FISH

Paoko, small fish found in water holes in the rocks by the sea, were 226 shot with the bow (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*) by both men and boys. Boys sometimes used slings for killing fish in holes. The woods used for bows were *koku'u* (?), *tuava* (*Psidium pomiferum*), and *toa.*

To catch *ihe,* flying fish, men went out by canoe at night with torches and, paddling about, caught the fish by means of a pole-net especially made for the purpose (fig. 18, *b*). When the fish was seen on the surface the net was slapped quickly over it upside down and then given a quick twist. The present descendants of the first native Hawaiian missionaries say that the natives of the Marquesas were taught this method by their fathers (the Hawaiians). Flying fish were eaten and used as bait for larger fish.

CATCHING EELS

Freshwater eels (*koee*) were sometimes caught at night by the aid of torches, being lured near the stream bank by the light and then flipped out on the shore with a stick having a hook on the end. Another method of catching them (probably used also for salt water eels) was by means of a snare. One person held a stick with a snare on the end of it, the string of which passed up along the stick. The snare was held under water, open, the stick being held in one hand, the snare string in the other. Another person then lured the eel into the snare by means of bait of some kind held under water on the end of another stick, so as to draw the eel through line. At the present time the favorite baits used for fresh water eels are rotten eggs and goat or chicken flesh. A kind of fish called *maha* furnished the best bait for salt water eels (*puhi*).

CATCHING SHELLFISH

The large marine crawfish, the meat of which resembles that of a lobster, were sometimes caught with a hook and line, but usually by men who dived for them from the rocks.

Crabs (*kaitano, toetoe, tupa*) were sought in the rocks and on or near the shores at night by men and women carrying torches. They were caught with the hand.

Shrimps (*koua*) were fished for in the streams at night by torchlight or in the day time. They were caught by children with the hand or with the noose called *tona* (fig. 18, *e*) and were caught in larger quantities by women with small hand nets (*to'o* (fig. 18, *c*) or pieces of cloth. Shrimps were sometimes shot by boys with a small bow and slivers of bamboo.

FISH POISONING

226 278 Fish poisoning (*te ika kohuhu*) was done both by men and women. The root of the *kohuhu* (?), a kind of broom, was commonly used. It was rubbed on the rocks enclosing pools filled with sea water in which fish had been stranded at low tide, or it was carried down among rock crevices along the shore by divers. The fruit of the *hutu* tree (*Barringtonia speciosa*) was used for the same purpose. According to Jardin (15, pp. 38-9) the fresh fruit was opened with a stone and rubbed on the rocks. The poisoned fish floated to the surface. Fish were sometimes poisoned in deep water, men diving with the crushed *hutu* and releasing it under water. The poisoning did not effect the flesh for eating. There was no poisoning of fish in streams. In few, if any, of the streams in the Marquesas were there fish large enough to be worth catching.

FISHING TERMINOLOGY[11]

226 **Ahu.** Fishermen's shrine.
192 **Aho.** Rolled corn made of fau bark or any cord.
Auona. Small fish net; to fish with this net.
Ae-ea. Long braid of leaves to hem in fish.
1 **Ava-ika.** Fisherman.
Ava-ika ke'i, ava-ika nui, or tuhuna nui upena. The master fisherman who performed the fishing rites and directed the work.
Ave huhu. Slip knot, noose.
E au upena. Inclusive term for all the gods connecting with fishing.
E fao te ika. To carry into the valley the whole catch of fish.
Fa'e tuma'u. Cookhouse of fishermen.
Fata'a. The shrine inside the oho au pu'e.
Fiifii. Small net for catching tortoises.
Fi'e na aho. The process of making the cord for the net.
Fi'o fi'o. Fishline.
Haa papa. To seek fish from canoes returning from fishing.
Hckatoto o te upena. Ceremony of making a fish net powerful
Hakahoa. Ceremony consisting of carrying fish to the house of a man's son-in-law.
Hakatuou. Food carried to the fisher to secure a share of fish—oupaa.
Hana ava-ika. The work of fishing.
Hana upena. The work of making the net.
Haitoo. Net.
Ika puhi. To fish with torches.
Ina. To hunt, to fish with a torch.
Kaaa, kakaaa. Thread used to attach bait to hook.
Kaimatie, kaimatite, kaimatiko, kaimio, kaimimioa, kaimitite, kaimititoa, kai povi, kaitani, etc. To pass a large part of the day in a river fishing for crawfish, shrimps and little fish.
Kauoa. To fish, dragging leaves to catch the fish.
Kavei. Thread which one puts at the end of the line near the hook.
Keeka. Thread fastening bait to hook.

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[11] Compiled from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and my own notes.

Kevitl. Hook of human bone to catch bonitos.

Kohe ata. Rod for bonito fishing.

Kohuhu. Kind of broom plant whose juice makes the fish drowsy.

Koke'eka. Net to carry fish.

Kota. To chase fish into the net by slapping the water.

Kouneke. Hook.

Kuaheu. The second catch with the great *upena*. The fish went to the women who made the cord for the net.

Makae keu'a. Hook having the shrimps for bait.

Mamai upena. Bottom of net.

Mata va'e ika. A fishing spear made of pandanus wood hardened in the fire. It had a single point.

Matai. Small string which attaches bait to the end of a hook, and the hook to the line.

Matau i te ika. To fish with a line.

Mata vai'i. Many-pointed lance to spear fish.

Mata va'u. Fishing spear, made of pandanus wood, the end of which was cut so as to make twelve prongs. There were three rows of sennit lashing at the base of the prongs.

Matioka. A piece of bamboo about two feet long used in making the kohiko net.

Nanae. Small package of fish.

Noupo. Fishing in the night.

Ohe au fi'e na aho. The house especially erected for making the cord for the net.

Ohe au pu'e. The special house in which the fishermen's rites were performed.

Ohe au upena. The special house in which the net was made and stored.

Oho au vaka. Canoe shed.

Otu. To chase fish into a net, shouting and frolicking in the water.

Oupa'a. Food carried to the house of fishermen for fish.

Pa. Bonito hook.

Pafeu. To fish with a line, making the hook flutter.

Pahahehahe. To fish from a canoe with a line.

Pa-oa. Seine.

Patl. To chase fish into a net by making noise in the water. Also patitevo.

Pehl. The large single canoe that carried the deep-sea fishing net (Nuku Hiva). Large seine, large canoe.

Peke. To fish with a line while swimming.

Peetai. To fish with a line while swimming.

Piama. To beat hands to frighten fish into a net.

Poa. To stupefy fish with the juice of certain plants.

Pokae. Sinker on fish line.

Pokee. A stone twisted with the fish hook, which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths.

Puhakau. To fish swimming with a line.

Puteki. Wood that serves to cork a net; wood on which one winds textile matter to make string.

Pu'u kaha. Sennit cord.

Ta i te ihe. To fish for the ihe.

Ta i te upena. To make a net.

Ta'aka. Those who aid fishers in drawing the net.

Ta'ake'a. Dart, harpoon.

Taha tapu na te upena. The sacred place of the fishermen.

Taiheka. Cords of a net.

Takau, or tanekau. To swim along rocks to catch crabs.

Takikeka. Cords fastened to the hoop of a net called koo'ka.

226 Tata'a. Kind of net.
Tavai. To bait a hook with sea centipedes.
192 Te ika haha. Fishing with a line from a boat.
Te ika hi. Fishing with rods.
Te ika kehuhu. Poisoning fish.
Te ika ve'o. Spearing fish.
Tiea. Large seine.
Tiitii. To fish with a line from a canoe without a rod.
Tikeeka. Small thread that fastens bait to hook.
Tivaivai. Thread that fastens bait to hook.
To'a. Small net on the end of a stick (for fishing).
To'o pu'u. The basket or trap in the bottom of the large deep-sea fishing net.
Tona. Snare for catching eels.
Totohu. Cry uttered when returning from successful fishing.
Tove'e. To fish with the line on the sea without a rod.
Tu. To catch small fish with a cloth.
Tuama. To fish by the light of torches.
Tuhuna upena. Master net maker.
Tuhuna ava-ika. Master fisherman.
Upe'a, Upeka, Upena. Net. Any net; large net for deep-sea fishing.
Upena fiifii. A large net with floats for catching the matake (hammer-headed shark).
Upena ihe. A small net for catching the kaoa, a small fish.
Upena kaoa or Upena ihe. Small net for fishing in shallow water.
Upena mana. Net that catches many fish.
Vaka fiti. The small canoe that went to the east side of the fishing ground.
Vaka hutaki. Canoe that serves to lift the net: Vakaputoki.
Vakaputoki. Wood that serves as floats for net.
Vaka ke'a'. Sinker for net.
Vaka nui. The two large canoes that went to the fishing grounds.
Vaka taka. The small canoes used in the deep-sea fishing operations (Nuku Hiva).
Vaka vaho. The small canoe that went to the west side of the fishing ground.
Veivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.

BIRD CATCHING

223 The simplest method of killing birds was with stones thrown with the hand. An ingenuous method of catching the *kuku* (*Thonarsis treron leucouphali*) was by means of the *mahuke,* a pole about 18 feet long, covered with gum that was made of breadfruit sap, mixed with oil from the coconut or the candlenut. The pole was thrust in among the roots and branches of a banyan tree where the *kuku* come to nest and to seek their food. The birds that perched on the *mahuke* were held fast, their feet and wings sticking in the gum.

Birds were also caught with nets. On Ua Pou there is a place upon the crest of one of the ridges bordering the valley of Ha'a Kuti, over which flocks of birds were accustomed to fly at certain times. Men would go to this point at these times and catch great quantities of them by means of large hand nets on the ends of poles. The flesh of these birds furnished one of the chief articles of the diet of the people of this valley.

The tropic bird, hunted at night on high rock elevations, was caught by hand. The tail feathers, which were used for ornaments, were pulled out and the bird was allowed to go alive.

The roosting places of wild chickens were detected by their droppings. A man would go to such a place at night with a torch and catch the chickens by hand. Modern natives catch chickens by means of a snare or a noose—this is the usual native method of catching chickens and perhaps other birds today. A cord is attached to a post or tree and a large loop with a slip knot made. The loop is spread out on the ground, food being placed in the center. When the fowl has stepped into the loop, the unattached end of the cord is pulled, drawing in the loop so that the bird is caught by the leg.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD

Although in the Marquesas agriculture and horticulture were the means by which a fairly dense population obtained its main food supply, yet these arts never advanced beyond a simple state of development. Digging sticks (*ko*) made of hard wood, used in preparing the soil for planting and in digging the pits for the breadfruit paste, were the only agricultural implements, with the exception of the nets used in harvesting breadfruit. 241

For the native the proper time for planting was at full moon (*mahina pi*), or when the tide was high (*ia pi te tai*) and it was believed that anything planted at such times would be strong and its fruits plentiful and large.

Upon the birth of a child it was customary for the father to plant for it in the vicinity of the house or somewhere on the land alloted to the family, paper mulberry, breadfruit, coconut, and banana. These trees were thereafter regarded as the property of the person for whom they were planted. [423 846]

Early visitors describe enclosures for the paper mulberry, sugar cane, and so on, about the precincts of Nuku Hiva houses. Porter (24, p. 107) describes the appearance of plantations in Taipi valley as follows: "Villages were scattered here and there, the breadfruit and coconut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and everything bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness."

PLANTS CULTIVATED

Marchand (22, p. 139) speaks of observing orderly banana plantations and it has been mentioned that a father would plant bananas for his child.

Although bananas constituted a food of only secondary importance in the Marquesas, there were, according to Jardin (15, p. 49), twenty-six varieties that were diistinguished by the natives.

Sugar cane was planted in the vicinity of the houses. According to Jardin (15, p. 54) the natives distinguished seven varieties. The cane, according to this writer, was reserved for feast days when it was cut and carried in great bundles to the place of celebration and distributed among the assistants preparing the feast.

Kape (*Colocasia esculenta*) was cultivated to a slight extent. Kava (*Piper methysticum*) was planted and cultivated in patches. Krusenstern (16, p. 164) speaks of seeing plantations of *kava*. In some of the legends recorded, the *kava* plantations of chiefs are described as being far back in the valley. Such plantations were named. In recent times, *kava* has been grown mostly in the uplands, because at one time the French administration prohibited its use.

Ute (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) the bark of which was used for making cloth, was grown in picket enclosures near dwellings. It was planted for the new-born child in order to furnish him or her with the cloth necessary for the various rites to be performed and also in preparation for such festivals as those of tattooing or marriage. The stems were allowed to grow up to ten or twelve feet in height, all the shoots along the length of the stem being carefully removed in order that the bark might be as whole as possible (15, p. 48). According to Dordillon (9) the *ute* trees were allowed to grow to a height of eighteen or twenty feet. After attaining the desired height, the stems were cut down and the bark was prepared for the clothing making. (See Tapa Making.)

The staple food for the natives was made from the fruit of the breadfruit tree. Individuals owned trees in the vicinity of their houses and chiefs owned plantations of them. The planting of breadfruit trees was performed with great care, but as to ceremonial connected with it, I have no information. Young shoots had to be obtained from the earth near the base of the mother tree, and were handled with great care so as not to be bruised. A hole was then dug in the ground with the digging stick, the earth taken from it being broken up and softened. The hole was then lined with leaves, the young shoot was put in and soft earth filled in and trodden down around it. The top of the shoot was broken off, and the remaining stock was then wrapped in bark or leaves held with strips of bamboo tied in place to protect it from pigs; or else a small fence was built around it, the space between the fence and the plant being filled with leaves. Ten days after planting a shoot, the farmer would come to see if it were sprouting (9). Père Pierre (4) speaks of feasts connected with planting.

The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell, or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*ma*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

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[202]

[415]

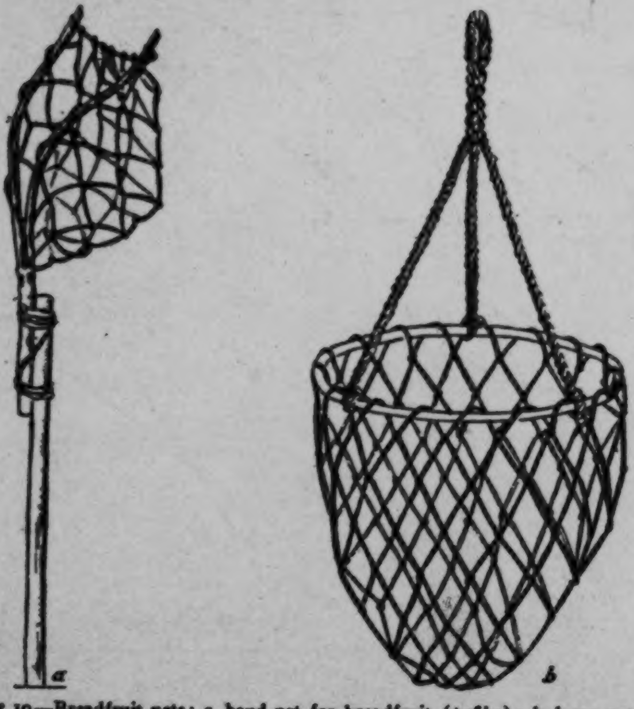

FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: *a*, hand net for breadfruit (*pañko*); *b*, large net for breadfruit (*ko'oka*).

[251]

[131]

241 The breadfruit trees were climbed by the men and the fruits were plucked with a net called *pafiko* (*pahiko*) (fig. 19, *a*), and deposited in larger nets hung in the branches, called *ko'oka* (fig. 19, *b*), or they were dropped on piles of leaves or weeds beneath the tree, so as not to be [802] bruised. They were gathered up and counted in bunches of fours called *pona* (literally, knot). Thus a *tahi pona* was one bunch of four, a *iva pona*, nine bunches, or thirty-six breadfruit. The whole system of counting breadfruit differed from the normal count. The fruits were carried [482] to the vicinity of the pits, slung on each end of shoulder poles (*amo*). It is said that one man could carry sixty breadfruit in this way. When a heavy load was carried the shoulder was protected by means of a wooden shoulder rest (*poka'a*). On Ua Huka, each family gathered and preserved 4000 (one *mano*) or 8000 (two *mano*) fruits at the chief harvest (*ehua*) and from a few hundred to one *mano* at the second (*mata'iki*) (Lawson MS.[12]). The work of preparing the paste and storing it in the pits is described under Preparation of Food.

As was usual in all tribal labor, the harvesters were fed by the chief. Following a good harvest there was always celebrated the *ko'ina tapavau* (See Festivals). Under Rites is describes the ceremony called *Vai titi*, the object of which was to break a drought and thereby bring plenty of breadfruit to relieve famine, which was sometimes very severe.

241 312 Taro (*ta'o*) was planted either in small patches bordered with stones, along the edges of streams, in larger patches of leveled terraces in valley bottoms, the terraces running like steps at right angles to the direction of the fall of the water, or on terraces built up above stream banks, running parallel with the stream bed. The accompanying plan (fig. 20) and the photographs (Plate 1, *D*) of an ancient terrace studied on Ua Pou show that the natives were well acquainted with the methods of irrigation and terraced agriculture. Concerning the work of erection of terraces, preparation of plantations, and planting of taro in ancient times I have no information. It is certain, in view of the customs connected with all other labor, that these had associated with them *tapu* and ritual of the same kind.

Figure 20 shows the plan of a terraced platform (*papua ta'o*) at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou, about two miles up the valley from the landing. As my only equipment in making the map was a fishing cord marked off in five-yard intervals, it may be understood that the map can not be regarded as accurate in measurements. But although the dimensions are faulty, the

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[12] The Lawson Manuscript, written in the Marquesas by Thomas C. Lawson in 1862 and the years immediately following and sent to Mr. W. D. Alexander of Hawaii, has come into the possession of the Bishop Museum when this paper was in the latter stages of preparation. It contains much valuable information regarding deities which will be published subsequently. It also contains much false information—free translations, interpretations, and so on, that are very wide of the mark.

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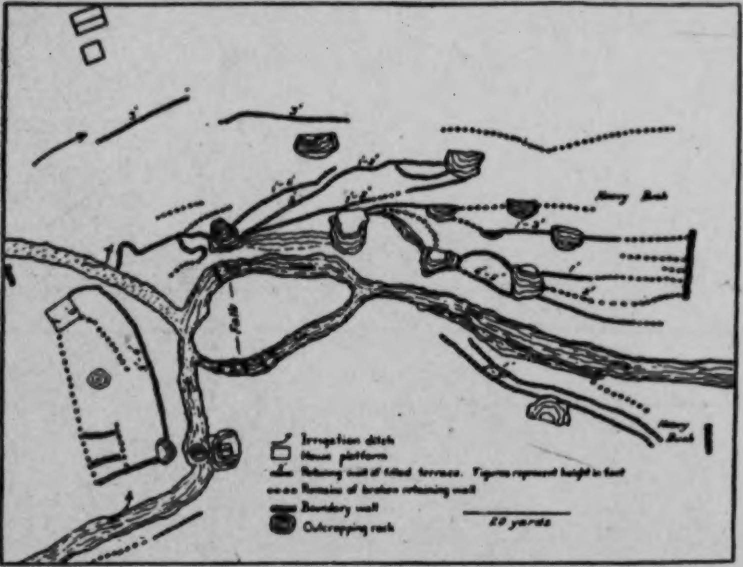
general arrangement is accurate. To illustrate this type of agriculture in the Marquesas this map may serve as well as one more carefully made. The map is self-explanatory. The walls are simply but carefully built of stream boulders and unworn angular stones. Rising perpendicularly above the stream is a large block of red volcanic stone, (*A*) on the face of which, on the stream side, are the remains of carved designs of some kind. On top of this are the remains of a small house platform. The other house platforms shown were evidently the sites of houses that

[361]


3'
3'
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1-2'
1-3'
4-8'
1'
1'
1'
Falls
Heavy Bush
Heavy Bush
Irrigation ditch
House platform
Retaining wall of tilled terrace. Figures represent height in feet
Remains of broken retaining wall
Boundary wall
Outcropping rock
20 yards

FIGURE 20.—Plan of a taro plantation.

overlooked the plantations. In the stream is a low rock of basalt, (*B*) the top of which has in it eighteen grooves made by sharpening adzes. There are many trees on the terraces, but only one, an old banyan, appears old enough to have been there before French occupation. The granddaughter of the former owner and worker of one of these plantations, told me that her grandfather was the last who had raised taro here.

All along the stream in this valley, both above and below the point at which this map was made, the remains of terrace walls are to be seen. Toward the sea where the land is more level there are several broad plantations, the low terraces of which run at right angles to the shore line. Figure 21 is a sketch made from a photograph of a stone-enclosed ditch for carrying water from the stream to a plantation.

241 312 In the valley of Haka Moui I examined the remains of a small plantation with six very regular terraces on the hillside above the stream. The supporting walls were from two and a half to three feet high. The group of terraces was about one hundred and fifty feet long and ended at each end with an enclosing wall. Plantations of this type were observed in Taiohae Valley on Nuku Hiva. There are similar ancient taro patches in Atu Ona, Hana Menu, Hana Ui, Hana Iapa, and Pua Ma'u and doubtless in most of the other valleys of Hiva Oa. The distribution of this type of agriculture in the group seems, therefore, to have been general. That such plantations were not more common is due in the first place to the lack of level land and to the hillsides being for the most part very steep and rocky and in the second place to the fact that, owing to the climate and soil, breadfruit and not taro became the staple of the natives.

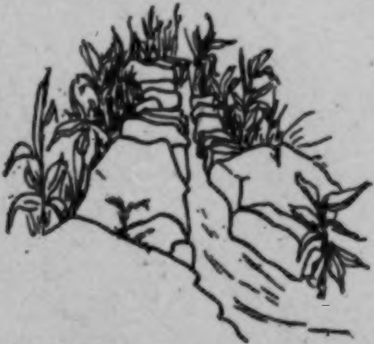

FIGURE 21.—A stone-enclosed irrigation ditch.

Today taro is planted only to a small extent, chiefly in marshy places and in small patches along the borders of streams; but it is planted occasionally in the larger plantations that remain intact from pre-European days.

PREPARATION OF FOOD AND ROTATION OF MENUS[18]

241 262 Although quantity rather than quality seems to have always characterized the native menu, yet there was a surprising variety of dishes in ancient times, and even today a prolific breadfruit (*mei*) season revives several of them along with community cooking. For now, as always, Marquesas menus follow the rotation of breadfruit seasons and depend for their compilation upon the comings and goings, the abundance or the dearth, of this

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[18] The section on Preparation of Food and Rotation of Menus was written by Willowdean C. Handy.

staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says: 241

> Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round. 262

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *tou motua* (eldest child). These large *mei*, *mei nui*, are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei*, *mei momo*, or *ki'ihi*, as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma*, other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground. 251 252 [731]

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

251 When the fruit[a] is sufficiently tender,
252 the women peel it with the *pu kava*, a shell in which two sharp-edged
[412] holes have been filed, and lay it on a bed of fau leaves with a cover of leaves, to ripen further.

The next day, the flesh is so tender that it may be squeezed off the core with the hand. The cores are thrown away, the flesh is put into a temporary, shallow hole, lined with plaited coconut leaves and with banana leaves, or into a *hoa no te ma*, an above-ground basket of plaited coconut leaves attached to a circle of fau pegs driven into the earth (See Pl. v, *A*). Linton describes one of these in detail:

> These containers are made as follows: A number of small saplings are driven into the ground forming a circle four to six feet across. Inside these, mats woven from coconut fronds are placed in pairs so that the walls will be everywhere two or more mats thick. The midribs at the upper edges of the mats are attached to the saplings with strips of *fau* bark. Three tiers of mats are placed one above the other, giving the walls a height of about two feet. The bottom of the container is not covered Inside these mats, a thick layer of banana leaves is placed vertically, covering the floor and sides. The mat walls are called *puru*, the leaf lining *au meika ameika*.
>
> After the container has been filled with pieces of breadfruit, the ends of the leaves forming the inner lining are bent back so as to cover the top, and are weighted with large stones.

When the *mei* has been drained of some of its water in this temporary hole, and fermentation has started, it is transferred to the permanent silo, or *ma* pit.

For daily use, each family has its own *ma* hole. Pits were dug near the house with iron-wood sticks (*ko fenua*). Mr. Handy has seen one family *ma* pit, which was lined with stones; Krusenstern describes them as being paved with stones (16, p. 161); Dordillon gives the word *pakeko* or *pakeho*, to define a hole lined with masonry, in which to put fermented breadfruit; but the usual container seems to have had only earthen walls. High on the mountains, in ancient times, great tribal *ma* pits were dug for storage against famine. These tribal pits are no longer used, as a rule, though Mr. Handy has seen one at Hapa Toni, Tahu, Ata, containing *ma* a hundred years old, which is occasionally eaten at the present time. (See also 15, p. 47.)

Krusenstern also describes a great *ma* hole on the hillside in Atu Ona valley on the way to Pua Ma'u, which is 15 feet deep on a side, and is at present 25 feet deep. It was formerly 15 feet deeper. The sides are of volcanic clay, with even, ornamental courses made with tools, running around in parallel rows, called *pauao*. The Ati-ku'a had five of these built on hill tops.

Linton says of these tribal pits:

> They are sometimes in or near the feast place, but are more often in the hills where they would be safe in case of attack. Some of them are of great size, the

[a] [i.e., breadfruit.—Analyst]

largest seen being in Tai-pi, Nuku Hiva, where there is a circular pit fifteen to 251
twenty feet across and at least thirty feet deep. Ordinary household pits average
four feet in diameter and three feet in depth and will contain *ma* enough to last the 252
family for a year.

The *ma* pits are always dug in clay soil [Dordillon (8) gives *tiemo*, to plaster a silo with clay] and are never stone lined, although one or two tiers of stone may be laid around the top to keep earth from falling in. Household pits are round, but some of the large tribal pits are square and the walls of the latter are very smoothly dressed. The walls of one large pit near Po Au, in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, show regular series of broad, shallow, horizontal grooves, as though an effort had been made at decoration. Natives insist that the watertight clay soil is necessary for the preservation of the *ma* and for this reason the pits sometimes seen in house platforms could not have been used for regular storage.

Linton describes the filling of a *ma* silo as follows:

> The pits are first lined with dry banana leaves (Pl. v, *B*) and then given a second lining of green banana leaves protruding about two feet beyond the hole all around. (Pl. v, *C*). The *ma* is placed in the hole in bulk, being tramped down from time to time [with the bare feet of the men, until it becomes a solid cake]. After the bottom has been filled, a layer of small mats made of two *ti* leaves pinned together [in three places with bits of the midrib of coconut leaves (*koniko*)] is placed around the sides of the hole longitudinally (Pl. v, *D*). These mats are called *papa o ti*, and are made especially for this purpose. [*Ti* leaves do not rot as quickly as others and hence are always chosen.] As the filling of the hole continues, additional tiers of mats are laid, the lower edges of each succeeding layer being tucked under the upper edges of the layer below. The hole is filled heaping full, and the mound is covered with two or three rows of *papa o ti* laid horizontally (Pl. vi, *A*), some short pieces of banana leaf being put on as a cap piece. The ends of the banana leaves lining the hole are then bent back over the mound, and the whole is covered with a litter of dry banana leaves (Pl. vi, *B*). A layer of large stones is laid over the whole, completing the operation.

The *mei* now becomes *ma*, and it may be said to keep almost indefinitely, the natives considering it improved with age. True, the earth mingles with its substance, it becomes darker and sourer, the *ti* leaves and the outer crust of the *ma* rot; but it is kept in what is considered good condition by adding layers of fresh *mei* (*tii moto i te ma*—8) by digging out the center, throwing away the crust, and adding fresh *ti* leaves. *Ma tahito*, which is considered the best, is about ten years old and is dark brown in color. The *ma* on the different islands varies according to the species of breadfruit and the composition of the soil in which the trees are grown. Nuku Hiva *ma* has the reputation of being very dark and very sour, that of Ua Huka, of being white and not sour.

POPOI

Ma is never eaten plain as taken from the hole, but forms the base 252
for *popoi ma* or *popoi mei*. *Popoi mei* is made during the season of abundance, but since the recipe for it includes *popoi ma*, it is better to treat both

252 dishes here. The *ma*, almost like clay, is dug out of its hole, carried to the house in a bowl, and placed on the *hoaka* or long, wooden trough to be kneaded. If it is very old and hard, it must be softened with water. Indeed throughout the preparation of *popoi*, water as a lubricant is used so freely as to become an important ingredient. When it is kneaded into a soft dough, it is wrapped in small packages, enveloped in fau
354 leaves and tied with the bark. Today these packages are boiled in water
252 in kerosene cans or large iron pots, but it is the earth oven in which they
[415] were originally baked, that we should include in this description.

The average oven is a hole dug in the ground, about two feet deep, three feet wide, and four feet long. In the bottom of it is placed the firewood (*vehie*), and on top of this, stones deeply pitted, which do not burst with heat. Fire was made originally by rubbing a small stick along a groove in a larger stick. (See description under The Dwelling, The Cook House.) In this oven (*umu*) the stones are heated thoroughly, part of them then removed with a *kipo* (which is a kind of long-handled dipper made with a stick passed through a coconut shell), or with the *koke mei* (tongs of two sticks bound together with fau bark which, as its name indicates, is primarily designed to lift roasted *mei* from the fire.) A thin layer of earth is spread over the remaining stones, their heat tested by the bare foot of the cook; the packages of *ma* are put in on a criss-cross of green guava sticks or petioles of fau leaves, to keep them from burning; the remaining stones are heaped about the packages, and the whole is covered with fresh *mi'o* leaves and then overlaid with earth.

252 *Ma* is tested like cake, by thrusting a small stick into a package to see if the dough still adheres to the stick. When it does not, the *ma* is cooked. The packages (*koumu*, Hiva Oa, *vahima*, Nuku Hiva—8) are taken out of the oven and unwrapped; the *ma* is placed on the kneading trough and pounded into a smooth paste with the stone *popoi* pounder (*kea tuki popoi*). It is pounded when hot preferably, since fermentation follows quickly when it is pounded cold and the *ma* does not keep so well. After pounding, it is again wrapped in leaf packages and kept until needed. In time it collects maggots and must be washed in salt water before being eaten, but it keep this way for some time.

It is this *popoi ma* which is mixed with the fresh breadfruit to make *popoi mei*. The fresh breadfruit has been ripened with a green guava stick and is now roasted on a wood fire. The blackened and charred skin is peeled off, the core removed, and the flesh mixed with water and pounded on the board until quite soft. Then a hole is scooped in the middle of the white *mei*, the brown *ma* is taken from its package and put into it, the two are kneaded together, with the constant addition of water to make

the dough soft, for *popoi* is not made to be chewed but to be swallowed. 252
The proportions of *ma* to fresh breadfruit vary. Some *popoi* is made with two packages of *ma* to one fruit; some, when it is desired very sweet or for children, with one package of *ma* to two fruits. Ordinarily, enough is 253
made at a time to last a week, but for babies it is made fresh daily.

Popoi is always eaten with water and there are various island fashions 264
for doing this. On Ua Pou, for example, each person has a small individual coconut-shell bowl of water, in which to dip his two fingers full of *popoi* scooped from the common bowl, and in which to rinse his fingers. The fashion on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa prescribes putting water into the big bowl filled with *popoi* for the whole family, so that one can wrap his two fingers with *poipoi*, moisten it, rinse his fingers and his mouth all at the same time. When the *popoi* is finished, someone drains the bowl of its last drop of water. Melville says *poipoi* was wrapped around the forefinger of the right hand, when eaten (23, p. 77): Du Petit Thouars agrees with what I have been told regarding the use of two fingers (10, p. 360).

As fresh breadfruit becomes scarcer *popoi ma* becomes the staple and 252
they *kahio* the *popoi*—that is, mix it with some other ingredient. Taro (*ta'o*) was baked in its rough coat in former times but at the present time it is boiled, the coat scraped off, and the remainder mixed with the cooked *ma*, the two being pounded together. *Popoi ta'o* dipped in coconut milk is often a substitute in inter-breadfruit seasons for *makiko* or *mei hupaku* for feeding young children. Sometimes ripe bananas are mixed with the raw *ma*, cooked with it in leaf packages, and afterwards pounded to a paste. In recent times raw grated pumpkin, manioc and flour are mixed with the raw *ma* and cooked in the same way. A few breadfruits, called *pateo*, come after the season. These are never wasted.

OTHER BREADFRUIT DISHES

Mei omi.—When the breadfruit season is at its height and dishes other than *popoi* are being made of it, a favorite dish with which to begin the day is *mei omi*. The breadfruit is roasted on an open wood fire, its skin removed, and the hot flesh mashed with cold water into a paste. At the present time, *ti kava*, a very strong tea, is its accompaniment, but salted fish or meat (*inai*) belongs with it. The simplest method of preparing breadfruit is by roasting on a wood fire, as a potato in the skin.

Ka'aku.—The dish called *ko'ehi* in the southern group and *ka'aku* in the northern, is simply made, the roasted breadfruit being taken from the wood fire, peeled, and mixed with coconut milk, pounded till soft, and eaten without further cooking. Garcia says this dish (which he calls *kakou*)

252 satisfies hunger for so long a period that it was often eaten on long voyages (14, p. 142).

The preparation of the coconut milk for this and other dishes proceeds as follows: Coconut flesh is grated on a low wooden stool with a long neck on the end of which are iron teeth, but in ancient times a sharp shell was used instead. Moistened in water, the grated flesh is caught up in a *tauaka* and the milk squeezed out. The *tauaka* is an ingenious manufacture, an excelsior-like substance made by flattening the stalks of the reed called *mouku* between two sticks, and then shredding it under water, so as to wash out all the gluey sap. When it is balled up, it becomes a kind of coarse cloth, excellent for straining out the milk from the coconut flesh.

Melville's appreciative description of the whole process (23, p. 132) should be included here:

> There is one form, however, in which the fruit is occasionally served, that renders it a dish fit for a king. As soon as it is taken from the fire the exterior is removed, the core extracted, and the remaining part is placed in a sort of shallow stone mortar, and briskly worked with the pestle of the same substance. While one person is performing this operation, another takes a ripe coconut and breaking it in half, which they also do very cleverly, proceeds to grate the juicy meat into fine particles. This is done by means of a piece of mother-of-pearl shell, lashed firmly to the extreme end of a heavy stick, with its straight side accurately notched like a saw. The stick is sometimes a grotesquely-formed limb of a tree with three or four branches twisting from its body like so many shapeless legs, and sustaining it two or three feet from the ground.
>
> The native, first placing a calabash beneath the nose, as it were, of his curious-looking log-steed, for the purpose of receiving the grated fragments as they fall, mounts astride of it as if it were a hobby-horse, and twirling the inside of one of his hemispheres of coconut around the sharp teeth of the mother-of-pearl shell, the pure white meat falls in snowy showers into the receptacle provided. Having obtained a quantity sufficient for his purpose, he places it in a bag made of the net-like fibrous substance attached to all coconut trees, and compressing it over the breadfruit—which being now sufficiently pounded, is put into a wooden bowl,—extracts a thick, creamy milk. The delicious liquid soon bubbles round the fruit, and leaves it at last just peeping above its surface.
>
> This preparation is called "kokoo," and a most luscious preparation it is. The hobby-horse and the pestle and mortar were in great requisition during the time I remained in the house of Marheyo, and Kory-Kory had frequent occasion to show his skill in their use.

Makiko or ma pou.—Another dish that utilizes the fast ripening *mei* is *makiko* (northern name) or *ma pou* (southern name). At present, it is made in the following manner: The breadfruit (*mei*) is picked one day, ripening the next with the aid of a guava stick piercing it; peeled and cored the next day. The ripe flesh is then kneaded in a bowl with coconut milk, until of the consistency of soft dough, when it is wrapped in small packages in fau leaves and tied with a strip of the bark. The packages are baked for an hour in the usual way in the earth oven, when they are

252 removed and eaten immediately. I am told that the truer native process of *makiko* is to ripen the breadfruit by digging a hole about two inches long in the fruit, where the stem has been knocked off, and filling it with the juice and pounded leaves of the *papa vahana* (*Phaseolus amoenus*). The breadfruit (*mei*) is left standing on end, so that the juice runs down the core and ripens the flesh. When it is thoroughly ripe, the skin may be peeled off with the fingers. After kneading the flesh and removing all the lumps, it is mixed with cooked *ma*. The whole is wrapped in *ti* leaves in long bundles and baked in the usual oven. *Makiko* is often fed to new-born children.

[263] *Feikai mei.*—In the old days Marquesans seem not to have been very fond of sweets—nor indeed of any marked seasonings for that matter. The *feikai mei*, however, which they make today and have made for some time, utilises the honey of bees and seems distinctly to take its place as a dessert, though the natives make a meal of it when they eat it. The milk is squeezed from the grated flesh of about forty coconuts and mixed with sufficient honey to turn the liquid a rich brown. Meanwhile, about thirty breadfruit have been roasted on the wood fire, peeled of their charred skins, and wrapped in fau leaves to keep them hot. Baskets of coconut leaves, about two and a half feet deep by a foot and a half in diameter, are plaited and lined with banana leaves, those of the *meika mao'i* (one of the native bananas) being the best. It should be explained that these leaves are always laid across the hot coals for a short while to scorch and temper them, and after the midribs are shaved thin the leaves are as pliable as rubber. Into these baskets, layer by layer, is laid the flesh of the breadfruit, broken away from the hearts (which are of course thrown away), and gradually the mixture of coconut milk and honey is added until each basket is filled. A few taro, halved or quartered, are placed on top, and the whole is covered with a banana leaf tied tightly around the mouth of the basket. The baskets are placed in the oven and left for about six hours. When removed, the confection is hard, and covered with a coagulated sweet sauce.

Feikai vaihopu.—Slightly different is the making of the *feikai vaihopu*, also a confection of the *mei* picking time—there are local variations of method in Nuku Hiva. After the breadfruit has been picked and left three days, until the skin can be stripped off with the fingers, the flesh is put in *fau* bark (*apoa*) to ripen, the gluey sap of the bark penetrating the flesh and coloring it a beautiful brown. When soft and ripe it is mixed with coconut milk, and put in square-meshed nets made of green fau bark. These are about two feet deep and a foot and half in diameter and are lined with banana leaves. When they are full, they are pulled up at the

252 mouth with strips of the fau bark and are hung on green poles across a trench in the ground, three or four feet deep and sometimes long enough to accommodate twenty nets of *feikai*. For many hours large fire-wood has been burning in the trench, and there is now a hot bed of stones in the bottom. These are covered with green sticks, leaves, and a layer of earth. Across the trench are placed the poles with their burden of nets hanging just so as to escape the covered stones. The *feikai vaihopu* is steamed all night under a cover of leaves and earth and bark. When it is taken out, the coconut is all absorbed, except for a coating of sweet, curdled sauce called *kahikahi*. *Feikai* will keep for days in an unopened basket, but must be eaten at once when opened. In Atu Ona, this *feikai* is called *feikai mei po'a*. Mr. Linton watched the process there and described it as follows (in words and pictures):

> Making *feikai* is an elaborate process requiring six days as a minimum. In prepreparing it, small breadfruit, although apparently not of any special species, are pierced at the stem end with a bamboo, the fragment being broken off in the hole. These pierced breadfruit are then placed in special containers made by removing the bark from a fau log about eight inches in diameter, allowing it to keep its original form. These bark troughs are then lined with fern and the breadfruit laid in them in a single line, (Pl. VI, *C*) the bark being bent back and tied with numerous strings in such a way as to form a closed tube(Pl. VI, *D*). The breadfruits are left in this tube for four days, by the expiration of which time they have become so soft that they are easily peeled and the pulp can be separated from the core with the fingers.
>
> In the meanwhile, several holes about eighteen inches in diameter and a foot deep, have been dug, and these are now lined with a layer of fau leaves. Within the fau leaves, four *ti* (*Cordyline australis*) leaves, tied in pairs by the tip, are laid so that they form a cross, and over these, three or four sections from the center of banana leaves. The banana leaves are wilted before use, to give greater flexibility, and a piece of the midrib about five inches long is left protruding at either end. The successive linings of the hole provide a bucket-like container, and in this is placed the pulp of three or four breadfruit, depending on their size, and about a quart of water. To this is then added sweet juice made by grating and squeezing the kernels of sprouted coconuts and a little coconut meat (Pl. VII, *A*). The ends of the *ti* and banana leaves are then brought up together and tied with a long strip of fau bark, whose ends are twisted together above the hole (Pl. VII, *B*) and attached by means of the rope to a second similar bundle, the pair being hung on a pole supported some distance above the ground (Pl. VII, *C*). Occasionally, a single pair of *ti* leaves is used instead of the four, and there are individual differences in the tying, that enable the owners to identify their bundles in the large oven.
>
> [354] The bundles are cooked in an unusually elaborate earth oven. These ovens are generally used in common by several families, all of whom assist in their construction. The largest seen was over ten feet in diameter and about three feet in depth, and would hold one hundred bundle of *feikai*. The oven is filled with a mixture of large stones and logs, and a fire kept going for twenty-four hours, at the end of which time the boulders are red-hot. The stones and the embers are then raked out, and the oven is lined with an even layer of hot stones, which are covered with a layer of moist earth about three inches thick. A number of peeled *fau* logs six to eight inches in diameter, are then laid across the depression, and the bundles, in pairs, are hung across these so that their weight is partly supported by them (Pl. VII, *D*). Immediately above the logs a single layer of unpeeled fau poles, about an

> inch in diameter is laid, these poles being as closely spaced as possible (Pl. VIII, *A*). 252
> Above these poles are laid three to four layers of coconut palm leaves or coconut leaf mats of the sort ordinarily used in thatching houses (Pl. VIII, *B*). When mats are used, they are always of green fronds. The alternate layers of palm fronds or mats are laid at right angles to each other. Above the palm layer come three to four layers of banana leaves, split banana stems, fau and fern leaves, all intermingled. Above these in turn are laid the bark breadfruit-containers already mentioned, the bark being spread out flat (Pl. VIII, *C*). The whole is then covered with a foot or more of earth and embers (Pl. VIII, *D*). The food is left in the oven for twenty-four hours.
>
> The finished *feikai* is yellow-brown in color, the darkness depending on the initial heat of the oven, and is about the consistency of jam.

The preparation of *feikai mei pa'a* that I witnessed in Atu Ona was not on so large or so elaborate a scale as that described by Mr. Linton, but differed in no essential from his account. It may be added that *kiva* or river boulders are always used for this *feikai* on Hiva Oa and are renewed with each oven. Formerly, the confection was made especially for the marriage feasts. (See Festivals.) The scale of the old operation astounds us. Twenty or thirty men worked for five days making the elaborate oven which was perhaps six meters in diameter. For firewood, large branches of *ihi* (*Inocarpus eduli*) of *koku'u* [a hard wood, according to Dordillon (8)], and of *fau* were cut. Banana leaves cut with the bamboo knife were carried in in fagots. Breadfruits were brought sometimes at the rate of eighty to the load of a single man.

Mei hupaku.—During breadfruit season *mei hupaku* is considered an ideal food for new-born children. The breadfruit for this is ripened by piercing it with a guava or bamboo stick and, placed in the oven in its skin, is baked slowly and thoroughly over night. Breadfruit cooked in this way will remain edible for some time. When cold the tender part near the core is scooped out, chewed by the mother, and fed to the young child before it is given breast milk, which is supposed to be poisonous for the first three days after the birth. 853 252

Mei komahi.—*Mei komahi* was formerly fed to babies when they were weaned, this sufficing them for about a year and a half. When the breadfruit had been ripened, it was mixed and kneaded with old dark *ma* (*ma tehito*), and made up into small packages in *ihi* leaves. These were in turn wrapped in fau leaves and cooked in the usual oven, from which they were removed only as needed. It was possible to leave them for two or three months in this cache before they would spoil, though it is doubtful if this was often done, for the custom was to carry *komahi* as presents to others who had young babies. 252 862

DISHES ACCOMPANYING BREADFRUIT

252 With the gradual souring of the *ma* through long keeping, the native palate feels the need of accompanying dishes to take the edge off the vinegary preparation. Coconut milk counteracts the acid and is often mixed with the *popoi ma*, sometimes without water, sometimes with. On Hiva Oa, this is called *popoi kao'e* or *ko'ehua* or *nahau;* in Nuku Hiva, *popoi hakauo.*

251 252 The ideal accompaniment of *popoi hakavo* is skate (*fafaua, Raia cephaloptera*) or shark, of which two species are used as food by the natives, *peata* (*Squalus carcharias*) and *mano* (*Squalus maou*). Both of these great fish are treated in the same fashion except that, as the wings of the skate do not spoil, they are hung up to dry without being treated, and are left conveniently hanging for anyone to cut off a piece to chew whenever he wishes. The bodies of the fish, however, are cut into small cubes, salted and wrapped in fau leaves, preferably those in which *ma* has been cooked, as the fish seems to keep better in these cooked leaves. though on Hiva Oa it is often wrapped in the clothlike sheath at the base of the coconut leaf stem. These packages of fish—often as many as sixty are made at a time—will keep for months without decomposing, though they emit an odor like ammonia. When a package is opened, the fish is rinsed in sea water and eaten with *popoi hakauo,* its strongly acid, peppery taste harmonizing with the deacidized *popoi.* [263] Skate is sometimes eaten raw with sea water the first day after it is caught, but not later. It should be remarked that in the old days salt for salting the few fish that were so preserved was obtained from sea pools left by the tides and evaporated by the sun. On Nuku Hiva, the natives tell of an old salt mine.

252 According to Jardin, certain lichens and sea weeds are eaten with *popoi: imu nanie, imu veve, imu kanayoi, imu topua* (15, pp. 55-7). [222] *Popoi ma* is also eaten with raw fish, never at present by tearing the fish with the teeth as I have seen it done in the Tuamotu Islands, but by cutting it into cubes and soaking it in sea water. Nowadays, following the Tahitian custom, the natives add the juice of the lime which partly cooks it. According to Melville (23, p. 236), however, the cruder method of eating fish was once in vogue, for he says:

> I grieve to state so distressing a fact, but the inhabitants of Typee were in the habit of devouring fish much in the same way that a civilized being would eat a radish, and without any more previous preparation. They eat it raw; scales, bones, gills, and all the inside. The fish is held by the tail, and the head being introduced into the mouth, the animal disappears with rapidity that would at first nearly lead one to imagine it had been launched bodily down the throat.

I have no record, either from personal investigation or from writings 252
of early visitors, that the cooking of fish—either in leaf packages or otherwise—was the custom in the Marquesas.

The kind of *inai* (fish or meat) eaten with these various preparations follows largely the different runs of fish. There were certain preferences in the matter of food combinations—such as skate or shark with *popoi ma* and coconut milk, salt fish with *mei omi* and *ka'aku*, but in the main any raw fish dipped in salt water—all kinds seem to have been eaten—is acceptable with any fruit preparation. It is interesting to note the thriftiness that led to the custom of saving to cook over the charcoal all heads and bones of fish, which could not be eaten raw.

Octopus (*feke*) is enjoyed—whenever one is caught. The lower, smaller ends of the arms are eaten raw; but *feke* is preferred dried and salted. The arms are slit open, rubbed well with salt, left over night in a large [251]
bowl, washed next day in the river, dried in the sun, and finally hung up in the cook house to be cut up and chewed whenever desired. Formerly on Hiva Oa the octopus was *tapu* to women.

It was sometimes eaten by men after elaborate preparation, resembling that of *feikai mei paa*. The same banana leaf bags were made of two crossed leaves, shaped in a hole in the ground (though the bending *ti* leaves were omitted) and heavily lined with layers of taro leaves (*u*). The octopus was cut up, put inside these bags, and covered with other layers of taro leaves. Coconut milk was then squeezed over the whole, and the banana leaf bag carefully gathered together and tied up with a strip of fau bark. It was not necessary to hang the bags on poles across the small oven in which they were cooked, as the contents were only slightly liquid, but they were set in the oven upon the earth-covered stones and covered in the ordinary fashion. After two hours in the oven, this *fatai u* was removed, cooked to a turn, and both octopus and taro leaves were eaten together. Pig was used in similar fashion with the taro leaves, the coconut milk being omitted, however, as its own grease was sufficient. At present, the natives boil the octopus, as their Tahitian neighbors have taught them, in coconut milk with a bit of *ena* root.

Lobsters (*uko*), crabs (*toetoe; tupa*), and shrimps (*koua*) are dipped in sea water and eaten raw. Shrimps caught in the river with a small net (*to'o*) or with an ingenious slipknot of coconut fiber tied onto the end of a midrib of a coconut leaflet, are chewed to a pulp by the mother, and fed [846]
to a new-born baby as a purgative. Raw shrimps and crabs are also eaten by the mother for several weeks after the birth of the child. Today fish is [251]
sometimes dried and salted, but it is a recent custom; raw fish is the staple, as has been said. *E ika mito* (evil-smelling fish) is prepared some-

252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara,* the *noio,* the *ka,* the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[231] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi.* If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *kokuu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252
621 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

sea to fish, and were consequently driven to eating rats. Some say they 252
braised the rats, others say they mashed them in the small round holes to 621
be seen today in the stones of house platforms, and ate them raw with
popoi. Today meat of various kinds is cut in strips, salted, washed, and [251]
dried in the sun; but it is doubtful if it was so conserved in former days.

If there is no *inai* to go with the *popoi*, a ripe banana or a piece of 252
coconut will suffice. Formerly the eggs of the *tara* (small birds which live
on the rocks by the sea) were broken into a length of large bamboo, which [222
was sealed with a leaf tied over the open end. When baked, this dish also 415]
served as a substitute for meat and fish.

VEGETABLE, FRUIT, AND NUT DISHES

When breadfruit is gone and the sour *ma* is growing scarce, the natives begin to utilize other native products. A variety of dishes are made. Among these are *feikai puauhi* made of raw wild yams peeled and cut up into the coconut-leaf baskets and baked in the oven with coconut milk in the fashion of the *mei feikai; feikai huetu* (a kind of wild banana called *fei* in Tahiti) made of raw, very ripe *huetu* and coconut milk, cooked in the same way; *feikai ta'o* made sometimes with the large *kape ta'o* (*Colocasia esculenta*); *feikai kuma'a* (sweet potato); *feikai hue arahi* (pumpkin); and *feikai meika* (banana). All the fruits must be half-cooked before the *feikai* is made.

Taro forms the basis for a native dish called *poke*. The taro is first peeled and grated (formerly on coral). This is a difficult task, since contact with the raw taro makes the hands itch, so that they must be held now and then over the fire to relieve them, and never, during the process, be put into water. The gratings are wrapped in fau leaves, and baked in the oven. Meanwhile, coconut flesh has been grated, mixed with pounded *ti* leaves to aid in extracting the oil and the whole squeezed from a strainer into a bowl. Hot stones are dropped into the bowl of liquid, which is stirred constantly for about half an hour, until the oil forms and the sauce, which is called *koneko* (8), thickens. When the taro is taken out of the oven, it is pounded with a stone, mixed with the sauce, and eaten hot. *Poke ta'o* can also be made with ripe breadfruit, when such is to be had. The grated taro is kneaded with the flesh of ripened breadfruit on the food board, after which the dough is wrapped in taro leaves, with an outer covering of banana leaves, and left for two days in the ordinary oven. It is eaten with oil of coconut as is the pure *ta'o poke*. Today taro is also baked in its skin in an oven in the same way that sweet potatoes are cooked.

252 *Taro leaves.*—Taro leaves (*e u*) are a delicacy, whose virtues Marquesans have always appreciated, though their present methods of preparation—boiling with coconut milk or baking with salt pork—are of Tahitian origin. *Hue taitio* is a genuine native dish, however. A package of young taro leaves is wrapped in many layers of *fau* or breadfruit leaves, which protect it from too intense a heat, and cooked upon charcoals above ground. When the steamed taro leaves are removed, the package is cut into slices, dipped into sea water, and eaten—whence the name, *hue taitio,* which describes the bowl (*hue*), the sea water (*tai*), and the sound made [271] by sucking the delicacy (*tio*). The sea water is of course drunk when the taro leaves have been eaten. Young *ihi* (*Inocorpus eduli*) leaves are prepared in the same fashion. Coconut milk is sometimes used instead of sea water. A further use of taro leaves will be described with the preparation of meat.

Piahi.—In general anything grated and mixed with coconut milk, and baked in a loaf is called a *piahi.* Taro, yams, and manioc are all used to make *piahi.* Probably a *piahi* was made in the old days of wild arrowroot (*pia taki oho au*).

The *ihi* nut (*Inocarpus edulis*), which may be roasted and eaten in the same way as the chestnut of America, is delicious when made into a *piahi.* The nut is cut open with an axe (formerly, the natives say, there grew an *ihi* which could be bitten open or torn apart with the fingers), the kernel is removed and soaked overnight, so that the dark skin can be peeled off. [412] The kernel is then grated (in former times on the tail of a skate) into the coconut milk, the immediate immersion in the liquid preventing it from turning dark and rancid. The milk and gratings are stirred constantly until a thick batter is formed. This is wrapped in banana leaves in long, flat packages, and baked in the oven.

Sometimes, when the new breadfruit season is beginning to show its promise in new young fruits, a green breadfruit is picked to make *ka'aku* but green fruit is not very satisfactory, for the flesh is lumpy and hard to pound. The product is contemptuously called, *ka'aku tu tai peto* (dog's dung, *ka'aku*).

Bananas.—Bananas are eaten raw or are baked in their skins. Some-[251] times they are preserved by drying. Having been first split with the thumb into their three segments and sunned for three or four days, they are wrapped tightly in banana leaves and bark. Prepared in this way they will keep for several months. These uses of bananas, however, are of recent and varied introduction. Porter (24, p. 94) describes the native method of ripening them:

> The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles [*ama*]. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time they are taken out perfectly ripe, and of a beautiful yellow colour. 252

Certain other fruits, besides bananas, were eaten raw: a very juicy, sweet apple called ***kehia*** (***Eugenia jambosa***); a native pineapple (***fa'a noka***); the ***katiu***, a kind of melon; the ***maii*** (***Terminalia*** sp.), the ***vi*** (***Spondias dulcis***), and ***Papaya carica***, which is also called ***vi*** by the natives. The papaya was also cooked. Uncut and unpeeled, it was wrapped in ***fau*** leaves, and left for two hours in the earth oven, after which it was peeled and mashed in a bowl with coconut milk.

There is no doubt that the constantly feared famine days often came 252
to the Marquesas, when the great ***ma*** holes on the mountains were opened 261
and their contents partitioned among the families; when ***ma*** was made of abortive breadfruit, even of their skins and cores which were ordinarily thrown away; when ***fau*** leaves and the roots of the tree-fern (***tukuu***) were baked in the oven; when wild yams (***puauhi***) were given a quick five-minute roasting in dry leaves on hot coals; when ***ti*** roots were baked for a long time in an oven with a very hot fire of large wood, then peeled, and chewed for the juice, which is rich and thick like maple syrup; when the kernels in the pandanus made into a paste (15, p. 51) and the small fruits of the fern ***pu'u manini*** or ***moina*** were eaten.

But sooner or later the ***tou motua*** (eldest breadfruit children)—the first fruits—appeared again; another bread fruit season opened, and the rotation of cookery started again.

ADDITIONAL CULINARY TERMS

Some of the terms relating to food, given by Dordillon (8) may be 252
suggestive: ***iaia***, little balls of ***ma*** not well ground; ***kaeo***, to cut breadfruit and extract the heart; ***kereuu, popoi*** not diluted with water, not ready to eat; ***ko***, to knead breadfruit with the hand; ***mei kotoa***, breadfruit dried by the sun; ***oomu***, cooked many times; ***nahi***, small package of leaves; ***pope***, package of coarse ***ma***; ***pihueu***, to salt meat to preserve it; ***pokii***, small package in leaves; ***puihi***, dish of native chestnuts; ***taahu***, cooked on one side only; ***tihuru i tihuu***, to salt meat; ***tikohi***, to take out the stones from a hot oven to put in the ***ma***; ***tiohu***, wrapped in leaves; ***tiumu***, small pack-

252 age of *ma; tipo,* to put *ma* in packages to cook it; *tohi i te ma,* to get *ma* from the silo, cutting and ladling it with the hands; *touevo,* small package of leaves to cover what is cooked in the earth oven; *tuoo,* to put coconut milk on *popoi.*

KAVA-DRINKING

272 The drinking of *kava* was common in the Marquesas as in other parts of Polynesia. The drink was made from the root of a species of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*), which was chewed in preparation. It appears that in different parts of the group there was some variation in the practice of chewing the *kava* root to make the drink. Melville (23, p. 194) describes young boys as chewing the root; Porter (24, p. 95) says, "Persons of lower class chewed it"; an old white resident of Taiohae said that young girls always did this there; while on Hiva Oa, my trustworthy informants all agree that *kava,* being *tapu* in ancient times to women and children, was always chewed by men.

On Hiva Oa, the mouthfuls of masticated *kava* root were dropped into
a bowl (*kotue*) by the men who were doing the chewing. Water was
[415] added, the mass was stirred, and then allowed to stand a short time. The
liquid was strained by means of a bundle of crushed reed stems (*mouku*)
or a piece of the fibrous sheath that grows at the base of the coconut leaf
(*kaka a ehi*), the strainer being dipped in the liquid, passed around, so as
to take up the particles of fiber, taken out, and then wrung out by twisting
[415] with both hands. Carved coconut-shell drinking cups (*ipu*) were dipped
into the bowl and passed around the company.

Melville (23, pp. 194-5) gives the following description of the making of *kava* in Tai-pi:

> Some half-dozen young boys seated themselves in a circle around an empty wooden vessel, each one of them being supplied with a certain quantity of the roots of the "arva," broken into small bits and laid by his side. A cocoa-nut goblet of water was passed around the juvenile company, who, rinsing their mouths with its contents, proceeded to the business before them. This merely consisted in thoroughly masticating the "arva," and throwing it mouthful after mouthful into the receptacle provided. When a sufficient quantity had been thus obtained water was poured upon the mass, and, being stirred about with the forefinger of the right hand, the preparation was soon in readiness for use.

Modern informants say that *kava* was drunk only by old men. Younger
men, and particularly warriors, seldom drank it, because it made them weak
[266] in the knees. These informants say, however, that *kava* was always drunk
as an accompaniment to the eating of human flesh, and on these occasions
the warriors always participated. It was usual to take a copious draft of
the drink and then quickly to eat a bit of food. The narcotic effect would
immediately follow with most men, but some would have to take a number

of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would 272
follow. A person under the influence of the drink[1] was very highly sensi- [774]
tive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought
to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by
noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava*
drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's [765]
stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest.
It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of [753]
the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill
effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short
period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of
chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formal-
ity connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity 527
whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of *ko'ina* are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u,* feast for the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

[1] [i.e., Kava.-Analyst]

527 feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, *tapu*, and sacrifices were a [796] part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa. A part of practically every feast place was a temple (*me'ae*). It is only a matter of point of view whether one regards the feast place as an adjunct to the temple, or the temple as an adjunct to the feast place. The truth is that neither was an adjunct to the other, that both were parts of a unit in the tribal community center before the chief's house, just as work, religious rites, and festivals formed for the native a unit in his private and public activities.

The times of celebration of the great festivals were regulated by the seasons. Every great occasion was marked by an enormous feast; hence it was only in seasons of abundance that such feasts could be celebrated. This practical limitation on account of provisions seems on the surface to be the explanation of the fact that all of these great festivals were celebrated when good breadfruit harvests had been garnered. Just what magical elements there may be in this allocation of the great festivals during the season of abundance is uncertain. It seems probable that all of the festivals formed parts of a period of general celebration during the time of abundance in the Marquesas, as in Hawaii and Tahiti. Langsdorff wrote (18, p. 158):

> In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the breadfruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals; for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time.

The manner in which truces were made in war time in order to allow for the preparation for and celebration of fêtes is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 169):

> 527 728 The wars with the Tai-pihs are continued by land, until one of the two kings (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which according to their customs must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations; and as a proof that these coarse, bloodthirsty men have no pleasure in a continued state of warfare, but are glad to live occasionally in peace and security, they frequently prolong the time necessary to prepare for these feasts, which last only a few days. Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began; although no other prepara-

527 728 tions were required than to make a new place upon which the dance is to be celebrated. After the termination of the feast, they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour. From the moment a truce is announced, which is done by planting a branch of a cocoa tree on the top of the mountain, the war instantly terminates.

THE FEAST PLACE

527 349 The feast place called *taha ko'ina* (*taha*, place) consisted of a paved dance area (*tohua*), always roughly in the form of a parallelogram and sometimes of a great size, surrounded by platforms (*paepae*). On the dance area there was frequently, if not always, a special space marked off by stone slabs set on edge for the choirs of old men who chanted. *Hii tohua* is given by Dordillon (8) as meaning seated on stones around the public place; *tuu*, as being the name of the square place surrounded by red tufa stone where rites over sacrifices were performed. There were stone back rests (*kepo*) against which chanters leaned. On the paved area itself were sometimes special small platforms on which a chief or chiefess sat. On the platforms at the times of festivals temporary houses were erected, different platforms and different parts of platforms being reserved for special purposes. At one end of or on one side of the area was a place of sacrifice (*me'ae*) on which stood the house of the high priest (*tau'a*) and where the priests and their assistants performed their rites. Opening on the feast place or near to it was always the chief's house; and on or near it was the warriors' *tapu* house. These dance areas were regarded as the property of the tribal chief, and as such constituted community centers for the tribe.

The construction of a new feast place was itself, apparently, always a part of some great festival, such as, for example, a fête for the purpose of honoring the son of a chief or a great memorial celebration for the dead. In other words when a new feast place was made as a part of such a celebration, the building of it was a part of the rite, the feast place and the new temple constituting, so to speak, a votive offering.

Just as a man desiring to build a small house platform would give a small feast inviting his friends to come bringing stones, so the chief who desired to honor his son greatly instituted a great festival, inviting his people, and his allies, to bring stones, to aid in the work, and to make merry. When such a feast place was to be made all the tribe was called in and worked under the direction of the chief and his executives and master craftsmen. The work was *tapu* and the place and workers had to be kept free from contamination through contact with womankind. The great stones that were used in the platforms were brought by groups of men or one very large stone might be brought by a whole tribe working together. A tribe, or people, living by a quarry would contribute the cut

527 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père 349 Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

> . . . comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.
>
> Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions (*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

[431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, "*E moko i te puaka*" (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

527 476 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

place where they were preparing the *ko'ina* there were no stones for the 527
oven. So the Pa'aha-tai formed a continuous line to the seashore; along 476
the line the stones were passed to the feast place, which was probably at Pekia about two miles from the shore.

Groups would come to the feast place bringing their contributions of provisions. As they approached, a crier or leader, called *patautau*, would cry out or chant in a very loud voice, announcing the identity of the approaching party.

On the actual day of the feast festivities usually began before dawn 527
with beating of drums and chanting at the feast place. A different order of ceremony regulated each type of festival. The food was sometimes all eaten at the feast place, sometimes part of it was taken home, sometimes all of it was taken home. At certain feasts there was the custom called *fao ta kai*, which signified the snatching and looting on the part of all who came of everything they could lay their hands on. Besides the feast there were chants, religious rites, dancing, and much merrymaking and display of finery. Formal chants and dances were accompanied by the drums, large and small.

When chanting and dancing was going on, as when the religious rites were being performed, spectators sat in silence. Women and children, other than those who were taking part in the singing and dancing, had to remain on the platforms, but they circulated freely on those sections on which they were allowed. In the great festivals special platforms were allotted to different tribes, and platforms or parts of platforms were reserved for different classes of people—for example, separate platforms for chiefs, for master craftsmen and warriors, for chiefs's sons and old men, for chiefs' daughters, for common men, for women and children, and so on.

TERMINOLOGY OF FESTIVALS

The following terms with their meanings relating to feasts, given 527
by Dordillon (8), are suggestive: 192

Avaava. Gift made at a funerary feast.
Fiti e mau haa. To distribute a feast, naming in a high voice those to whom shares were given.
Hakahiti. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming aloud those to whom it is given and assigning to them portions of the dishes.
Haa hua i te ko'ina. To prepare a feast.
Hei titii. Small fete—within a larger one (*pa'aiavai*).
Hutahe. Licentious fete.
Kahau, ahau. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming all the guests invited.
Kavepua. Food carried to the house of an individual or a tribe that gives a feast.
Mataki. Distribution in which everyone had part.
Mau. A great feast.
Hei mau. He who gives the feast.

527 **Mau hei titii.** He for whom the feast is given.
Kaimau. The rest of the company.
192 **Naihana.** Those who prepare the fete (*tuahaka*).
Pii tahi. In a distribution to give only one thing or object to each person who takes part; pii ua, to give two, etc.

BETROTHAL FESTIVALS

584 The rites that accompanied formal betrothal and marriage constituted parts of one unit of formalities marking the binding together of families or tribes. The rites and festival of marriage (*hunona*) merely completed those begun at betrothal (*tuia*). The elaborate rites and ceremonies about to be described were not performed to celebrate the union of every couple who might come together as *tuia* or *hunona* (See Personal Relationship), but only for formal alliances. Nor was the betrothal always followed by the marriage rite, for some youths never consummated their marriage with the girls to whom they had been affianced.

A *tuia* (betrothed) was frequently sought for a child from another couple before the expected child had been born, perhaps as soon as the woman became pregnant. If when the child was born it proved to be of the same sex as its prospective *tuia*, the matter was dropped. It was natural that great care should be taken in providing for *tuia* for first-born children. Proper arrangements were necessary: first, for the sake of the prestige of the family; secondly, as a preliminary step on the part of a man towards securing his own spiritual future by arranging for suitable offspring to care for his remains and to continue his family line.

The ceremonial of arranging for *tuia* at Pua Ma'u (called there *ha'a paupau*) was as follows: The parents made the overtures on behalf of the child and came to those whose son or daughter they were contracting for as *tuia*, bringing with them their child and gifts. They were received by the parents of the prospective *tuia* seated on a small platform that had been built especially for the occasion, consisting of a single row (or level) of the usual stream boulders used in building platforms. If their child were old enough, it was seated with them. Back of them was a shrine (*feia'u*) consisting of two posts decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*), with other coconut leaves suspended in some way between them. This shrine and, in fact, the small platform, the whole rite and all its adjuncts, appear to have been called inclusively and severally *paupau*. After the visiting parents had formally presented their gifts, there was a feast, of which both families partook.

A detailed description of an elaborate rite of betrothal was obtained at Atu Ona: A Ta'a Oa father decided that he wanted his boy (or girl) whose age was perhaps four or five, to marry the daughter (or son) of a

584 431 certain Atu Ona man. A message was sent first, bearing the proposal, which was accepted. The Ta'a Oa father then prepared the *fafi tapu,* or formal gift, that was always sent on this occasion. A great number of hogs were prepared and lashed on a large frame of poles. About sixty men from Ta'a Oa carried this to Atu Ona, singing the type of song called *vaka hoa* or *kouoo,* the verses of which always ended with a great shout (*"Vio"*). This shout announced the arrival and could be heard all over the valley. The family in Atu Ona, to whom the *fafi tapu* was sent, then began singing their genealogy (*hahi*). Meantime the Atu Ona men had gathered on some platform or other high place, beside the road along which the *fata'a* would pass. As the bearers came along, singing their *vaka hoa,* all the Atu Ona men leapt down on top of the *fata'a.* If they did not succeed in making the Ta'a Oa men drop the litter in this way, they beat them with clubs until they had done so, after which there was a free-for-all scramble for the hogs, all of which were taken home by those who had been in waiting. The hogs were always tied on very securely, to make it difficult for the looters to make away with them. After this looting, which was the custom, the carriers of the litter proceeded empty-handed to the house of the waiting Atu Ona family, where they were given a feast. A month or so later, the Atu Ona family returned the compliment, sending a *fafi tapu,* exactly the same formalities and practices being gone through, it being the Ta'a Oa men this time, however, who had their chance to loot the bearers of the Atu Ona gift. This return of the *fafi tapu* (gift) completed the troth. In preparing the elaborate gift the whole family participated. Those formally betrothed by such an exchange of gifts were known as *tuia fafi tapu.*

584 The order of events in the matter of betrothal and marriage is described as follows by Père Siméon (7): first, the betrothal when the children were very young; then, when the youth desired his wife, his going to her house, examing her in the presence of her parents, eating out of the family *popoi* bowl with her relatives, and sleeping with her on the family bed-space with the rest of his new relatives. After this, according to Père Siméon, was the the bringing of gifts to the young couple, the *ko'ina hunono,* and the exchange of gifts by the parents. Subsequently the young couple could live where they wished.

MARRIAGE FESTIVALS

585 The elaborate marriage festivals were celebrated only by families of wealth. These great festivals, called *ko'ina hunono,* were among the most elaborate, being second only to the memorial festivals, marking as they did the accomplishment of alliances between tribes and being the rites

585 that celebrated the completion of arrangements between chiefs for the marriage of their children. The great marriage rites were celebrated at the chief's feast place. According to local informants there was in Atu Ona at the main dance place a special platform that was reserved on such occasions for the daughters of chiefs. Here they stood, dressed in all their finery, to be admired by all. As was usual at all festivals the chief's warriors, *tuhuna*, and other men of the tribe and the women and children were seated about the dance place on the various platforms specially reserved for them.

The youth, who was to be married, was brought into the dance area on the shoulders of a *pahupahu* (mother's brother), while the girl was brought on the shoulders of her *pahupahu*, both being clad only in loin cloths. The two were placed in the dance space on a large stone which had been covered by the girl's grandmother with a piece of tapa. There, in view of all, while the two families chanted their genealogies, the marriage was consummated. The feasting, dancing, and singing followed this. One of the most important elements in connection with these marriage festivals was the exchange of gifts between the families. These presents as a whole were called *haitounahe'e* and consisted of every form of wealth, such as ornaments, cloth, pigs, and so on. On Nuku Hiva *haituahe'e* was the term used for these gifts.

I was told at Pua Ma'u that a succession of betrothal and marriage festivals given at different times was customary there. The first was the *ko'ina hunona fafi tapu* (marriage feast of the *tapu* gift, given when a child was betrothed before birth. This is evidently the same as that described above for making *tuia*. At this feast women were forbidden to partake of the food provided. The second rite was the *ko'ina hunona fafi me'ie* (marriage feast of the free gift), which was celebrated after the birth of the *tuia*—at this women were allowed to eat. The last and final feast, which celebrated the sealing of the marriage, was called *ko'ina hunona paona* (last marriage feast). As a part of this rite, a new house was built for the couple to live in. Informants at Pua Ma'u insist that [184 there was no public defloration of the bride on the feast place, and that 586] there was no sexual abandon in connection with these rites.

The following is an account of a *ko'ina hunona* celebrated at Atu Ona: The two families celebrated a succession of these rites. The father of the boy began the festivities, when the lad was about five years old. About two weeks' preparation was required for the building of the special shed (*oho au*) for storing and preparing food. Such rites took place before the boy's father's house, not at the feast place, unless the parent were a chief. After the first breadfruit harvest was put down in the pits, the second crop, called *kato'o* or *ki'ihi*, might be used for *popoi* for this feast. When the pigs and the *feikai mei pa'a* (*feikai*, grease; *mei pa'a*, ripe breadfruit) had been prepared in the special house, the final preparations for the feast were made. The food was wrapped up in little parcels and distributed everywhere, hung up in the tops of trees, hidden all about, inside, under, and on top of the sleeping house. All the valuable of the family were taken out and secreted, as everything was demolished in the scramble for the food that was to follow. All the time the work of preparing the food was proceeding, the women of the boy's family chanted their genealogies (*hahi*). There were no *tapu* connected with the work. As many as ten great ovens would be made, half the food prepared being for the workers. Offerings of food, called *hai hei*, were also sent to the future son-in-law from the valley of the girl.

The *ko'ina hunona* was then celebrated. All the people from Ta'a Oa set out in advance of the family of the girl. They and the Atu Ona people raided the house of the boy where the food was concealed—in searching for the food they demolished everything.

The family of the girl then arrived bringing gifts, consisting of ornaments, and were followed by the girl, who came with her parents and *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). As they approached the house of the boy's father, the maternal uncles and paternal aunts (*pahupahu*) carried the girl. They bore a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of *hiapo* (sacred cloth made of banyan bark, reddish brown in color) on their heads. An uncle preceded with the girl on his shoulders, the others following behind, carrying on their heads the long *hiapo*. Those carrying the girl and her *hiapo*[14] were met by the maternal uncles and paternal aunts of the boy carrying him and his long loin cloth in the same way. The two parties exchanged the boy and the girl. Each party then walked under the loin cloth carried by the other. Both parties then made a circuit, in procession, while the genealogies of both families were chanted. This completed the formalities of marriage. Other festivities (*ko'ina hunona*) followed, however, which repeated the same rite.

Six months or so later the paternal aunts of the boy would make a second *ko'ina hunona* for the boy, at which exactly the same ritual was gone through. It took place at the house of the richest sister, the others helping. Each *ko'ina hunona* for the boy was reciprocated by one for the girl by her parents, when everything was done in just the same way, except that the preparations were made by the girl's relatives at her father's house and the boy's family brought the gifts. The boy's family must,

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[14] It was explained that this was white cloth. The use of the term *hiapo* here is probably incorrect; it should be *ute*. *Hiapo* is sometimes loosely applied to loin cloths in general.

585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ias* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take [576] canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

[431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*túpapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs cried three times in a high voice, "*Tatapo i te puaka*" (We call on you for a pig). The householder would reply three times, similarly in a high voice, "*A haki i te puaka*" (Chant your genealogy for the pig). The seeker then replied, "*E toe puaka tu'u tupuna, e*" (Enough pig for my ancestor). The pig or pigs were then delivered. A *tapu* called *fau'oa* reigned for the families collecting pigs while this was going on—this *tapu* allowed no eating nor smoking.

When a descendant of the dead man had obtained three or four pigs, they were taken to the ceremonial priest at the feast place and the *tapu* was lifted. The pigs were fattened, and a season of plenty was awaited before the *ko'ina* was announced. All the people in the valley aided in procuring wood for cooking. A special house (*oho au*), open at the sides, was built beside the feast place for the preparation of food. One festival would be given in honor of the spirits of several dead men at the same time, and the relatives of all united in sharing the support of the workers. The pigs were dressed, *popoi, poke,* and other foods were prepared. (See Preparation of Food.) The preparations lasted about a week, during which time all those engaged in the work were *tapu*. The last day of preparation, which preceded the actual celebration, marked the ending of the *tapu* and was called *takoai*. On this day, the great *tuhuna* (master professionals) of all kinds arrived. Ovens, each of which held twenty to thirty hogs, were fired and filled.

Just before daybreak on the day of the feast, a loud drumming announced its opening, and the old men began to sing the chant called *nato* at the feast place, continuing until the provisions were all on the dance area and the people were all assembled. People from other valleys came, bringing pigs and other provisions. The pigs were laid in rows on banana leaves on the dance floor—a row for each spirit—by men girt only with a loin cloth. The drums began to beat with the beginning of the *nato* and continued all day long. Old women, relatives of the deceased, chanted (*nahi*) in pairs all day long the genealogy of the land and of their families. (See Genealogies.) One woman would chant the names of the men, another of the women, thus:

> O Nuku, h-o-o-o-o-i, (It is Nuku, for sure)
> O Mea ta oe vehi-i-i-i-ne, (Mea is your woman)
> O Pepane, ho-o-o-o-o-i, (It is Pepane, for sure) . . .

The professionals (*tahuna*) stood on a sacred platform, the men on another or part of one reserved for them, and the women and children were elsewhere by themselves. After the *nato* chant and before the carving of the pigs, chants called *uhaki* were sung. (See Sacred Chants.) The pigs were then cut up, whole pigs or parts being distributed to all those at

765 the festival. A *tuhuna* would cry in a high voice, "*To ha'a fiti ia* (name)," (This share for ——), naming the man. One of the attendants would raise on his shoulder a pig or a part of one and throw it on the dance pavement. The man named would come forward with his friends and take away his share. Some pig and other food was eaten at the feast place, the rest being taken home. The members of a family who were honoring a spirit at the festival could not eat of the pigs that were in the pile laid out on the feast place for their relative, but they could eat of the other piles that belonged to the other spirits.

Melville's descriptive of the "Feast of the Calabashes," (23, pp. 192-193) which I judge to have been a funerary feast (*ko'ina tupapa'u*), though possibly it was a feast following war, gives some excellent details regarding festivals. The appearance of the feast place is described as follows:

> All along the piazza of the Ti (the warriors' house) were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made poee-poee, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidical stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

The making and drinking of *kava* is described as a part of this festival. Melville (23, p. 196) describes finding on the second day of the feast, the area before the warrior's house, the scene of the first day's activities, "altogether deserted by the men; the whole distance being filled by bands of females, shouting and dancing." This day "was ushered in by still more uproarious noises than the first. The skins of innumerable sheep seemed to be resounding to the blows of an army of drummers." He saw

> [536]
> [887] . . . four or five old women who, in a state of utter nudity, with their arms extended flatly down their sides, and holding themselves perfectly erect, were leaping stiffly into the air, like so many sticks bobbing to the surface, after being pressed perpendicularly into the water. They preserved the utmost gravity of countenance, and continued their extraordinary movements without a single moment's cessation.

Melville's description (23, pp. 196-199) of what he saw at the feast of the calabashes, undoubtedly giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of one of these great festivals, is as follows:

> Within the spacious quadrangle (the *tohua*) the whole population of the valley seemed to be assembled, and the sight presented was truly remarkable. Beneath the

> sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the 765
> enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at [534]
> least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium.
>
> Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .
>
> Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven [293]
> grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion.
>
> But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old [781]
> priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . .
>
> All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

> At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though [291
> the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tewnen* (*ha'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected 565]
> that they appear wholly naked.

765 that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people.

. . . Cabri assured us that only those girls, wives, and widows danced whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance (18, pp. 158-159).

DEIFICATION FESTIVALS

769 776 The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta*, or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with child-bearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi*, played a prominent part.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS FOR PRIESTS

According to Père Pierre (4), three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke*, the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu*, and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua*. These were given at different periods following the death.

Garcia (14, pp. 117-118) writes that the first memorial feast was celebrated one moon after the death and the next was celebrated at the end of six moons, lasting from eight to thirty days, depending upon the opulence of the family of the deceased. It is my understanding that memorial feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity 769 for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were 776 made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this [184] feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were [386] orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might [292] dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants [292 chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women 302 being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. 887] Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not [786] bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they [302] bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was
the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the
776 *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at
[481 Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized particularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each
526] other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-
266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

were taken to the sacred place of the tribe,—were never eaten. Of the 796 victims that were eaten, it appears that under some circumstances they were eaten only by chiefs, priests, and warriors, under other circumstances 266 by the whole tribe. (See War.) Père Siméon is of the opinion that the natives of the Marquesas never ate human flesh as food but that the eating was always purely for revenge. He states that frequently it was parts of the head only that were consumed. According to him only one man is [682] known to have eaten a fellow tribesman and this in revenge for cold-blooded murder. He points out the crews of whale-boats that have been lost for some time have starved to death without thinking of eating one of their company. The inhabitants of the valley of Atu Ona say that the Papua-ei tribe used to eat their fellow tribesmen, but this practice is recounted by natives of that valley today as a shameful thing, whereas the cannibalism that followed war is not associated with any sense of shame in the thoughts of most modern natives.

It seems probable that fellow tribesmen were sometimes eaten during great famines such as that which greatly reduced the population of Nuku Hiva between 1806 and 1812. (See 14, pp. 12-13.) It must be remembered that most of the early visitors such as Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and others who gave earliest reports of cannibalism in the Marquesas visited Nuku Hiva at a time immediately following this disastrous famine when any tendency in that direction would have been exaggerated and, furthermore, that their informants were sailors who undoubtedly liked to spin a good yarn. The eating of wives and children as described by Langsdorff and Krusenstern may, I feel sure, be labeled sailors' yarns. As there are only a few old men left who have eaten human flesh, the interest that a modern Marquesas islander puts into the description of the cannibalism of his ancestors may be laid not so much to feeling that there was great enjoyment of the food, but rather to a spirit of boasting before the horrified foreigner and to the survival of the sense of vengeance and triumph over a fallen foe that was one actuating motive in the eating of enemies.

The *ko'ina heana* consisted merely of a feast at the dance area, where human flesh, pig, and *popoi* were consumed. So far as I know there was no dancing nor singing. I have no definite information on this subject but it seems doubtful that women were ever allowed to be present at such feasts.

In the top of the largest platform at the main feast place in Atu Ona, there is a basin-like hole where the enemies who were to be eaten were cut up. Prisoners were left at the feast place for two days before being killed, in order to allow these who were to attend the *ko'ina* to get ready. It

796 266 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. [261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. [272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 266 415 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were 796 mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible 266 unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. 415 One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried [482] hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was 304 healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a 574 certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou,* post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka.* Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i,* or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i,* nick-

304 574 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also by warriors after a war.

The ***ko'ina toe haka*** (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

[535] The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu,* and *haka pahaka.* (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 556 431 In *ko'ika hakahiti,* chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to outstrip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like. 776 556 431

PRIESTS

The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a, tau'a nui,* or sometimes *atua,* which means literally god. The *tau'a,* who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods. 773

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, u'u, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha, veveahu,* or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

793 upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

793 173 The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito,* or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

796 764 793 The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

INSPIRATION OF A TAU'A

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent 793
possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were
employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old 787
men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise,
sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick [191]
of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. [789]
Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*hoto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him;
> but the *moa* and the *tauoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut
> with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion [224]
> he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*hoto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: "*Ena tu u toika i N—*" (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

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793 787 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

THE SANCTITY OF A TAU'A

793 784 778 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under [421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one [822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

PRIVATE LIFE OF A TAU'A

793 834 184 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, 793
which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife 834
and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems 184
to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married.

COSTUME OF A TAU'A

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from any- 793
one else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua 292
Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no description of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men.

DEATH AND DEIFICATION OF A TAU'A

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacri- 793
fice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died 766
a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin
or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would 776
not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes,

793 766 776 the hair, and so on, the object of this rite being the deification, or elevation in power, of the spirit of the dead priest. Great memorial festivals were held in honor of dead priests long after their decease. (See Festivals.)

THE CEREMONIAL PRIEST—TUHUNA O'ONO

793 The priest who presided over the ceremonial of the tribe was the *tuhuna o'ono* (*o'ono*, chants) or *tuhuka o'oko*. To direct and lead the ceremonial at public rites, and particularly the chanting which was an important part of them, was the chief function of this priest. Again, it was the *tuhuna o'ono* who recited such chants as the *pu'e*, constituting the chief feature of the ceremonial associated with industries, the consecration of new things, and so on. It was he who had charge of the chanting in private rites, such as that at the time of death. Lastly, he was the professional who was employed to teach the sacred chants called *vavana, pu'e, tona pou*, etc., to sacred first-borns; who directed and led the chanting of these in the family feasts celebrated for that purpose; and who taught legends. In a word, the *tuhuna o'ono* was at once tribal ceremonial priest and bard.

The position of *tuhuna o'ono* tended to become heriditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a *tuhuna o'ono* to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a *tuhuna o'ono*. No woman ever became a ceremonial priest for the reason that the most sacred of the chants, the *pu'e, tona pou*, and certain others of lesser importance, were *tapu* to women.

The manner of teaching chants and legends is described in the chapters covering those subjects. A future *tuhuna o'ono* was simply one of a group, who came together to be taught legends and chants by an old *tuhuna*. Showing keenness and intellectual ability, and desiring to become a *tuhuna o'ono*, a man would devote his time to perfecting himself in the recitation of legends, chants, and genealogies, and in increasing his knowledge, until he came to be recognized as an expert.

Before one actually became ceremonial priest for the tribe, he had to be consecrated by two ceremonies at the sacred place. Before these rites of consecration, initiates were subject to certain restrictions: they could not wear flower necklaces (*hei*), make use of saffron on their bodies, nor anoint their bodies or hair with oil; they were obliged to preserve continence, and to play no games; *popoi* with coconut milk and a fish called

hohoe were *tapu* to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated 793
them, the first one called *tuputu*, the main feature of which seems to have
consisted in the initiate's eating *ka'aku* (see Preparation of Food) alone;
and the second called *pouhahati* when there was drumming and chanting
(7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known.

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between 793
famous *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes, were important events in the lives
of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting 541
tuhuna were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a
great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the
local *tuhuna* (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special
house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested,
and particularly the local and visiting *tuhuna* of all kinds, the local bards
would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found
in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and
there ceased to be recognized as a *tuhuna* and could never again lay claim to
this distinction. A type of chant called *ui* (see Chants) recounts such contests
between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred
between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a
witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is
recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who
she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed [778]
by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat,
which involved the loss of his power (*mana*). Some informants say
that a defeated *tuhuna* was killed.

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the 793
tuhuna o'ono lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as
any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial
he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his
family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching
or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where
his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders
in the same way.

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the *tuhuna o'ono* consisted of a 292
turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young 793
banyan tree (*hiapo*). In this valley it would seem that the *tuhuna o'ono*
and the *tau'a* wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (*taputoko*) wore
white.

Because of his sacred functions, the *tuhuna o'ono* was a very sacred 793
person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who 766
represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per-

793 formed for the *tuhuna o'ono* at the time of his death as for the inspirational priest and the chief, consisting of the ceremonial *tapu* on the whole
766 tribe, treatment of the body at the tribal temple, and the chanting and sacrifices, which were intended to elevate his spirit to such power that it would become a mighty god to aid the tribe. The ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* which was prominently associated with these rites seems to be the same as that associated with the *tau'a*—a bundle of three fau stakes wrapped in cloth. The body of the *tuhuna o'ono,* like that of the *tau'a,* was placed, sometimes, at least, in a vault dug beneath the tribal temple. In the valley of Vaii on Nuku Hiva there was a special sacred place consecrated to the sepulchre of ceremonial priests (7).

TEMPLE ASSISTANTS

793 Temple assistants, called *moa, taputoho,* or *u'u,* were chosen by the inspirational priest and performed their duties under his direction. When the priest was possessed he would place his *hoto* (staff of iron-wood) between the legs of a man whom he desired as a *moa,* saying *"Ua hihi oe ma uka o tu u hoto"* (You who are on my *hoto* are sacred.) The man thus chosen had to present himself promptly at the sacred place, deserting his family, for death through a curse of the high priest was the inevitable result of refusal (7).

The duties of the *moa* were to care for, kill, handle, and dispose of the remains of sacrifices, human and otherwise; to prepare the food of the inspirational priest and attend him generally; to take care of the sacred precincts and of the objects in them, such as the chief's skulls used in various rites; to prepare the sacred structures for rites, and so on.

The dress of the temple assistants in Pua Ma'u consisted of a long robe of white cloth covering the whole body like a blanket and coming to the ground (*kahu ko'oko'o*), and a turban made of the dark-colored bark of a very old *ute* stem that had only been tapped or beaten out roughly. This bark cloth was wrapped around the head and tied at the back, leaving an end pendant (*pa'e kohito*).

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (7) these temple assistants were required to remain always at the sacred place, being allowed to have nothing to do with women. At Pua Ma'u I was told, however, that it was only during rites that they were thus consecrated and that between times they were allowed to live at home with their families as anyone else would. This, I believe, was propably the usual situation, as the sacred places were entirely deserted except when rites were being performed. So far as my information goes, there were no especial rites for these temple assistants nor unusual treatment of their bodies upon their death.

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SACRED PRECINCTS AND THEIR CEREMONIAL USES

There were two types of the tribal sacred places, both of which belonged to the chief as the head of the tribe. First there were those to be found in secluded places, being primarily for disposal of the remains of the dead, but also used for ceremonial. These sacred places of sepulture (*me'ae*) have already been described in connection with disposal of remains of the dead. The second type was attached to and a part of the festival places of the tribe, and primarily for use in rites performed at the feast place. 778

At ceremonial times a number of temporary structures were set up within the sacred enclosure of the tribal temple, being destroyed later upon the completion of the rite of which their erection was a part. Among the temporary buildings were the special house of the inspirational priest, the houses for the assistants, those for the remains of sacrifices, for the ceremonial priest, and so on. A type of small sacred shrine, called *feia'u*, appears to have been erected sometimes inside of the inspirational priest's house and sometimes outside. There were other shrines, called *ananu'u* both inside and outside of the sacred houses. Restricted areas were indicated by peeled hibiscus stakes wrapped in tapa and plaited coconut leaves. The other objects in the sacred precincts were images—usually of wood—conch shells, and the large pearl shell hooks on which sacrifices were suspended in the trees. The banyan and *temanu* were regarded as sacred and were almost always associated with *me'ae*.

THE INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST'S HOUSE

The most sacred of these temporary structures in the temple precincts was the house of the inspirational priest. This house was called *fa'e tukau*, or *tu'a*, and was built on a platform within the sacred precincts of the secluded tribal temple (*me'ae*), or on the sacrifice platform (*me'ae*) of the feast place (*taha ko'ina*). The following details regarding this structure were obtained at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa: 778 346

The house was erected by the temple assistants before the celebration of a rite. At the time of its erection one human sacrifice was killed and eaten. The characteristic feature of this structure was the great height of its roof and its small base, which gave it the appearance of an obelisk. The house had the general form of the native dwelling, that is, it was rectangular and the back wall was continuous from the ground to the ridge pole. The front roof came only part way to the ground, leaving an open section at the bottom. The end walls closed the building. There were three front posts and an end post in the center of each end wall supporting the ridge pole. The front of the house, below the eaves of

778 346 the front roof, was open. The whole structure was thatched with breadfruit leaves. In Atu Ona, it was said that this house was thatched with palmetto leaves. The house in Pua Ma'u was said to have been built ten arm spans (*mao*) high (one *umi*, or ten *mao*—about sixty feet) and at the base about three spans (eighteen feet) long and three spans wide.

It is said that twelve hundred poles of *fau* were required to make the framework of this structure. By being lashed together the supports of the ridgepole and thatch were made long enough to atttain the great height required. Although the temple assistants erected the house, the aid of the whole tribe was required to get the materials. Outside the house, either in front of it or around it, was a restricted area marked off by about sixty peeled *fau* stakes (*koufau*) decorated with white and reddish cloth, indicating the limits of the most sacred restricted area. No one lived in the *fa'e tukau*. It was regarded as the house of the inspirational priest, but just how he made use of it in connection with his oracular duties, modern informants were unable to tell me. At Pua Ma'u, Pupuke was the god of the *fa'e tukau* and was supposed to live inside. There was, however, no image.

Such a house on Nuku Hiva is mentioned by Garcia (14, pp. 57-58). He speaks of a pyramidal house within the precincts of a *me'ae* that he visited. Dordillon (8) gives as a meaning for the word *fa'e tu'a*, a house pointed in the form of an obelisk. Porter (24, p. 111) describes such structures in a Nuku Hiva *me'ae*. To the right and left of images, which he describes in this sacred place were

> two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoanut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth. . . . The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises.

These would appear to be much less elaborate and permanent structures than those described to me as being built at Pua Ma'u, but there is little doubt that they were for the same purpose.

778 346 825 On top of the ridge pole of the inspirational priest's house were ornaments called *manu ku'a* (red bird), one for every arm span (*mao*) of height, placed at equal intervals along the ridge pole and at right angles to it. The *manu ku'a* was a mythical bird of red plumage. Some native stories recount voyages made in search of its feathers. These bird figures on the priest's house were made by splitting a section of bamboo with many slits, spreading them and stuffing cloth inside to form a roundish body. This frame, wrapped in white cloth that was afterwards stained red with the juice of the fruit of the *mahiha* (?), formed the body of the *manu ku'a*. Another piece of bamboo, wrapped in cloth that had been

dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and 778
head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the 346
thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were 825
placed other ornaments called *hukihuki,* made of three small pieces of
opini (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth.
These ornaments like the *manu ku'a,* were placed at right angles to the
ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung
down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant
strips indicated that the house was *tapu.* It is said that they were never
removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were
the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were
buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) 778
and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père 776
Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders
of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the
underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the
three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human
sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected
upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial
priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of
the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by
pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the
embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the
spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a*
would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to
be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no 778
images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or
board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu,* the second midway up in
the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was
hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had 778
been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end 212
of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the
introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was
used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open
space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of
Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The
very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top
of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

776 An exceedingly interesting ceremony was performed in connection with this house of the inspirational priest. Just when or in connection with what 346 rites this was performed I was unable to ascertain, but it seems probable that it was merely a part of the rites surrounding the erection and consecration of the new shrine (*fa'e tukau*), a testing of the strength of the house, and symbolic testing of the power of the inspirational priest and his god, for whom it stood. In the performance of the rite the inspirational priest took his place immediately in front of his house. A body of warriors approached with spears. When they came near, they threw their weapons toward the crest of the roof, attempting to hit the ornaments that adorned it. The object of this, my informants said, was to test the strength of the house of the *tau'a* and to see if it could be knocked down. The bundles of three *opini* stakes are known to have been symbols of the priest's *mana*. One seems justified in concluding, therefore, that the attempt on the part of the spearsmen to hit these objects was a symbolic and perhaps an actual testing of the power and sacredness (*mana*) of the priest.

FEIA'U AND SHRINES

Feia'u or *feiahu* were small temporary structures at both public and private sacred places, erected as a part of various rites. Dordillon (8) considers the word to mean a ceremony to make chiefs, doubtless owing to the fact that the erection of the *feia'u* was a part of the rites performed in honor of a chief's first-born son or daughter (see Sacred Chants). The *feia'u*, described to me in connection with betrothal rites at Pua Ma'u was said to have stood on a special low platform of its own and its posts to have been decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*).

In the *vavana* chant, certain details regarding the building of the *feia'u* are given, mentioning the special cord used for lashing the roof poles, the roof supports, the posts decorated with cloth and coconut leaves, and a feast celebrating the completion of the new sacred *feia'u tapa*. Elsewhere in this chant, *feia'u* is given as the name of the mythical house of the god Ono-tapu and his wife Tahuei.

778 The *ananuu* constructed at a sacred place may be characterized as a shrine. At Pua Ma'u it consisted of an upright stake or stakes with a crosspiece, against which were rested or bound four coconut leaves plaited. These, like *feia'u*, were made as a part of both public and private rites.

What were apparently *ananuu* are described by Stewart and Wilson in their accounts of the voyage of the ship "Duff" Both writers describe the *ananuu* as associated with private sepulture. Stewart (26, p. 266), says:

> At each corner of the low wall a number of long, slender bamboos were erected, 778 tied together at short intervals in a square form of bands of white cloth, while within, surrounding a bier covered with white, were a number of cones six or eight feet high in the form of the braided leaf of the coconut, confined at the top by bands of white cloth, the ends of which hung down in long pennants.

In Wilson's account (30, p. 526), "a sort of escutcheon" is described within a sepulchral house of a chief. "Again the side of another house, three other escutcheons are placed."

CEREMONIAL APPURTENANCES

Koufau were peeled *fau* stakes wrapped in white cloth and ornamented with plaited coconut leaves. These served as signs of *tapu*, marking off restricted areas during the times of the performance of ceremonial. What are evidently *koufau* are described by Garcia (14, p. 59). He speaks of an altar surrounded by long bundles of white stakes from which floated bits of vari-colored cloth. Melville describes similar signs of *tapu* around the restricted area on a feast place at the time of a festival (23, p. 198). *Koufau* are mentioned by Krusenstern in the following description (16, p. 127):

> In the outer circle were some statues carved in wood, intended to represent the human figure, and evidently the coarse work of some unskilful artist; near to these statues were some pillars wrapt up in cocoa-leaves and a white cotton stuff. We were curious to learn what was the intention of them; but could obtain no answers to our inquiries, than that they were tahbu.—Near the morai was the priest's house, whom, however, we did not find there. Every family has its separate morai: the one we visited belonged to the priests.

Kopiripiri or *opinipini* (cf, *opini* on the *fa'e tukau*) was the term applied to the coconut leaves that embellished the *fau* stakes used as *tapu* symbols and the posts of sacred structures bedecked on the occasion of rites. Dordillon (8) gives as the meaning of the word *opini*, a sign of peace. The use of the coconut leaf as a symbol of peace is described under War. The coconut leaf appears to have been a symbol of sacredness that was used in a number of ways on ceremonial occasions: to decorate the sacred houses, *tapu* markers, and war canoes; as a headdress and body covering for *tuhuna* and others when occupied with ceremonial; and as a peace sign. The fact that a coconut leaf was used as the ceremonial dress of *tuhuna* justifies the conclusion that its use in decoration was probably primarily ceremonial rather than aesthetic. 824

It is common today to find about the remains of some sacred places a great number of conch shells. It is probable that these were used along with drums in ceremonial, as was common in other groups, in announcing periods of tapu. Whether drums were used in the sacred precincts not

778 attached to dance areas, I am uncertain. I have never been told of the use of them and have seen no record of their being found in sacred places. I am inclined to think, therefore, that in the Marquesas drums were confined to the feast places and were used only in connection with the rites practiced there.

Coral which is very commonly found in the platforms of the temples is known to have been used ceremonially in connection with the *tona pou* rite (see Sacred Chants), and it seems likely that it was used also as a part of the tribal rites as it was in Hawaii and Tahiti.

Stewart (26, pp. 251-252) mentions other small ceremonial objects:

> Sometimes, a human skull is placed in a curiously wrought urn adorned with flowers, and elevated in a similar manner. A cocoa-nut leaf, also, woven so as to represent a human victim, and fastened to a long pole, is borne along on the shoulders of two men; a principal priest then speaks aloud, as if asking a question, and all the rest answer in a shout. The vociferative part of this ceremony is also practiced when on the water in their canoes. Frequent use in these ceremonies is made of a piece of wood, with another fastened across the top of it; and also of a small canoe, decorated with human hair. At times, too, a *hami* or girdle, or other article is held up, and the name of a god invoked in a loud and bold manner; and when a surgical operation is about to be performed, the rude instrument of tooth or bone is elevated, in a similar way, towards the imaginary power, as if expressive of dependence for success on the skill that may be supernaturally imparted.

826 Skulls were among the most important of the sacred paraphernalia associated with places of worship. The skulls of chiefs or priests were the tokens of the presence of their spirits. Garcia (14, p. 58) observed in a *me'ae* four skulls in one corner embellished with some sort of decoration. The taking of a dead chief's skull to the temple after the treatment of his body had been completed is described in the section on Death. Skulls were used in connection with the fishing rites (see Fishing); they were lashed on war canoes (see Canoes); and were used in other ways in ceremonial.

IMAGES

778 The images (*tiki*) at temples represented deified tribal ancestors—chiefs and inspirational or ceremonial priests who had been famous in
532 their time and whose spirits had become the tutelary deities of the tribe. These images were carved usually out of a tree trunk but sometimes of stone. In either case, they were carved in the typical Marquesan conven-
7 tions (see fig. 22, *a*). Figures were for the most part of moderate size, though some were very large. Conventionalized human faces were also sometimes carved on the blocks which formed decorative elements in the walls of temple platforms. (See fig. 13). The image, or images usually stood at the rear of the sacred precincts on the uphill side or on the high-

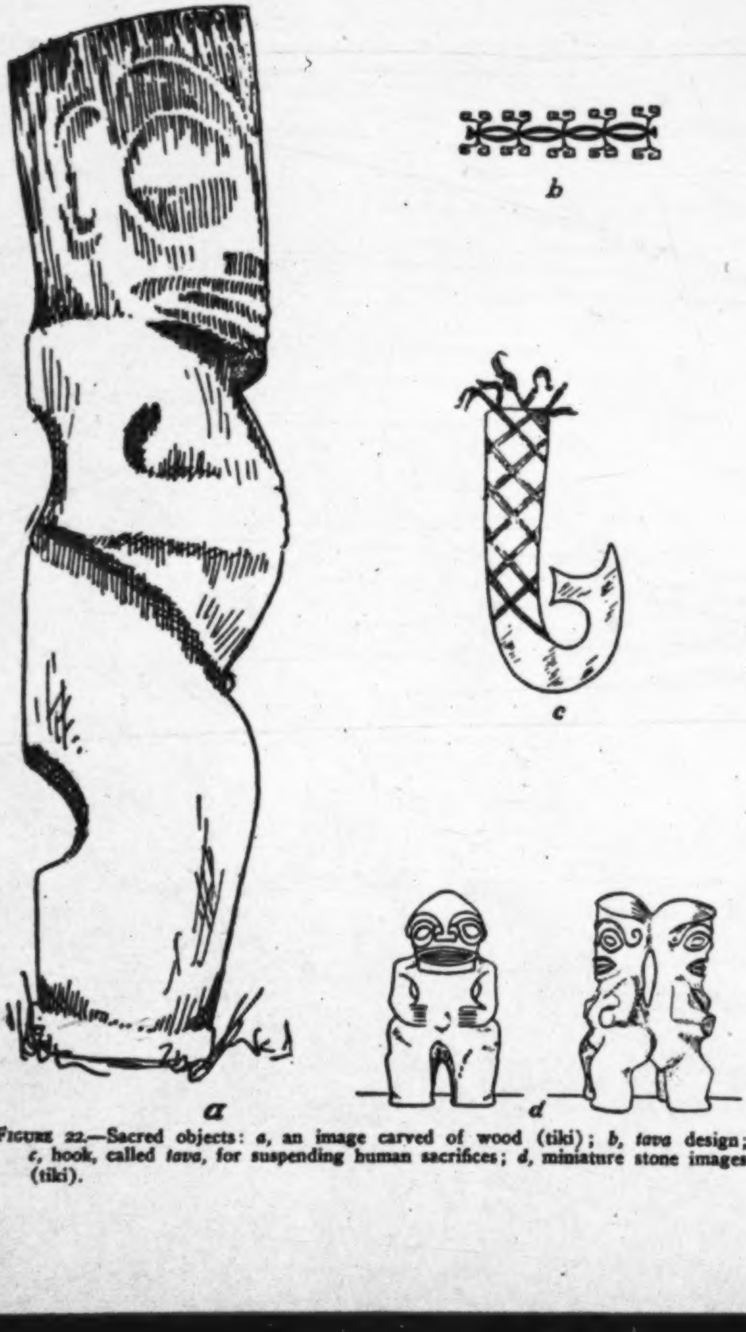

FIGURE 22.—Sacred objects: *a*, an image carved of wood (tiki); *b*, *tava* design; *c*, hook, called *tava*, for suspending human sacrifices; *d*, miniature stone images (tiki).

778 est platform. In addition to these large permanent figures were miniature stone images (*tiki*), either single human figures or double figures (fig. 532 22, *d*) carved out of one piece, back to back. In order to insure success these were taken to the sacred place and there presented as votive offerings by those initiating some undertaking. By whom images were made, when, and with what rites is unknown. Undoubtedly, there were special carvers; images, like the house in the precincts, were probably made from time to time, as they were needed in rites. Images were girded with loin cloths. That these loin cloths for the gods were ceremonially made is indicated by the following translation from the manuscript of Dordillon (9): "The old *tuhuka* [probably ceremonial priest], who beat the *hami* [loin cloth] for Paiau, Tohotika, and Tamaputona [names of gods] might eat only in the evening." It was probably the loin cloth of the image that Stewart describes as being elevated while an invocation was pronounced (26, p. 275).

It is instructive to note the impressions of early visitors as to the appearance and arrangement of images in sacred places. Stewart (26, p. 267) describes figures as standing inside of the houses:

> The temples do not differ from the larger inhabited houses, except that they are always open in front. All we saw contained three images, one at each end opposite and facing each other, and one in the middle against the thatch behind.

The following description by Porter (24, p. 111) would indicate that sometimes the images stood in the open:

> In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoanut, and *toa* trees . . . and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among such a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the breadfruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model.

Such images as remain today, of course, stand on their platforms in the open and it is practically impossible to tell whether they had structures over them or not.

Garcia (14, p. 58) describes images of all sizes scattered about in a temple that he visited. In the middle of the place occupied by the images was an enormous stone figure roughly carved, about it a number of other figures, all of human form except one which represented a bird. (At Pua Ma'u there is an enormous stone image, apparently of a turtle.) About these were scattered the remains of offerings. Whether portable images

or representations other than those used by the fishermen were employed 778
in connection with public ceremonial is doubtful. Melville's description 532
of the priest of Tai-pi consulting a small roughly carved image wrapped in cloth is of questionable authenticity. This evidence may be supported, however, by that of Stewart (26, pp. 250-51):

> Sometimes a bundle, which is called the "clothed god," consisting of a wooden log, wrapped in cloth, with four conch shells fastened upon it, is lifted up and carefully laid down again by the priests; all the people standing and making responses to an unintelligible jargon, during its elevation. [198]

Altars and Offerings

It appears that some *me'ae* had altars for sacrifice and some had not. 778
At both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa are large carved, stone blocks, which stand on the main or uppermost platform and which served as altars for human sacrifices. On the other hand, such stone altars are lacking on virtually all other *me'ae* and there is no evidence that wooden ones were used. In one of the manuscripts of the Catholic fathers, however, the human sacrifice is spoken of as being made on the *akau* (which literally means wood or log), suggesting that wooden altars were used.

Offerings of all kinds were presented at both public and private temples. Remains of calabashes, coconut shell *kava* cups, fish, pigs that had been hung in the trees as offerings, and also whole canoes and parts of them are described as being in temple precincts by Garcia (14, p. 58). Melville (23, p. 101) also describes seeing the putrefying remains of sacrifices. Human remains after the bodies had been taken down from the trees in [782]
which they were suspended were buried in the ground of the sacred precincts. (See Human Sacrifice.) Human, animal, and fish bones, occasionally bits of ornaments, and other objects, are to be found today in the platforms of sacred places.

HUMAN SACRIFICE

The order of procedure at the time of human sacrifice was—first, the 782
designation by the priest of the number required, then the seeking of the victims and their capture by warriors, the return home of the warriors with their prizes, and the presentation of them to the priests. The bodies were first taken to the feast place (*tohua*), whence they were taken to the *me'ae* for the rite of *fa'i fa'i heana*. According to Père Pierre (7), the victims were laid in a row face down on the ground in the *me'ae*. The *tau'a* lay down upon them, and the *tuhuka o'oko* performed the rite of *ha'i heaka*. Drumming and chanting continued for seven days. At Pua Ma'u I was told that at these great rites all the *tuhuna* (professionals) of every kind assisted in the temple precincts, constituting the chorus for the chant-

782 ing. While the *tukuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their
backs resting against the *keho,* stone blocks or columns set in the ground
[516] to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a
[352] ceremonial *tapu*. The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest
and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

[192] Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu*.
Heaka paepae he'e or paepae tohua. Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehuehu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity
was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest.
[828] In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that
should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would
then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of 782 his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods.

TAPU BEFORE OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICE

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the 782 offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a 784 great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava*. According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana,* is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The [302] face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was sup- [781] posed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims.

RITES AT TIME OF HUMAN SACRIFICE

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka,* the rite of 782 human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries:

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, "*Ou! ou! ou! oho te i'i*" (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

Coconut oil was poured over the head of the victim and on it was put a flat stone to which was attached a coconut fiber thread ending in three rings. The ceremonial priest sat down after the completion of his chant and the chorus of old men continued. A stone ax was put on the head of the victim and all the people clapped their hands. Finally a coconut was put on the victim's head and the juice of another was poured over it. Then a piece of casuarina was placed at the victim's side. The rite ended with the recitation of the names of the first victims who had been taken in ancient times for sacrifices. These rites continued seven days, the inspirational priest (*tau'a*, male or female), the ceremonial priest (*tuhuka o'oko*), the temple assistants (*moa*), and the old men of the choir (*tuhuka*) being the only persons present.

During the time of performance of such rites all those participating took the name Ati Tu, meaning family of Tu, the god of warriors. All were consecrated to the rite and could have no contact with women or outsiders. During the whole time the ceremonial priest lived in his peaked house while the others lived in other houses within the sacred precincts. After the chant consecrating the victims had been recited over the sacrifices the bodies were drawn up in the trees and left suspended there. At the end of the rite the temple assistants cut the bodies down and threw them into a charnel pit. Then other temple assistants plaited coconut leaves (*ha'a komini ia*) and hung them in the trees to indicate the completion of the rite. These signs were called *tava heaka*.

An example of the chant consecrating the victim was obtained by Dordillon (9) from a former ceremonial priest of Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva. This chant is subsequently to be published. At certain points during the chant, according to Père Siméon (7), the body was elevated on the pole on which it was carried by two assistants. At a later point it was thrown on the ground again, after which if the victim were not dead he was killed by being strangled with a strip of fau bark. At a later point in the chant the ceremonial priest mounted a small square stone platform, holding in his hand a fishing line, on the end of which was a large hook (*tava*) (see fig. 22, *c*), which he put in the mouth of the victim—in the chant the victim is spoken of as a fish. Victims were suspended by means of such hooks in the trees of the sacred precincts. There is a Nuku Hiva legend which recounts how Tohetika let down a hook from the sky to secure a human victim. It is certain that the practice of suspending the victims in the trees of the sacred precincts on a large hook was connected with the conception of which this story in an indication. In this story and in that of Tikituao the eyes of the victims are said to have been eaten by the gods with their *kava*. Here again, the story explains the actual

practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as 782
he was sacrificing him.

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been 782
eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices 266
were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19).

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu 782
Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—
men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were 731
presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were [887]
strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected.

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Pére Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vanana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *vaititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; held thus, the body was left to burn.

782 The same rite, called *houtu*, which was performed at the sacred place to give the warriors of the tribe power and supremacy over their enemies, was performed also with the accompaniment of human sacrifice, in order to obtain breadfruit during famine. The chant was the same except for a few changes.

> *E N . . . a tuku mai te aki* (*ua*) (N . . grant us rain).
> *Eia to oe enana, e houtu, a hano i te mei* (N . . . here is your victim, your present. Grant us breadfruit).

The god responded through the mouth of the inspirational priest, "You will have such abundance that the pigs will eat breadfruit lying on the ground." This rite as a whole was called *Houtu io te etua mea ha'a ueue mei* (Gift to the god to make breadfruit abundant).

GODS

776 Deities in the Marquesas may be grouped in the following classes: gods of myth and creation; departmental gods, including gods of nature and the elements, patrons of occupations, and gods of sickness; and tutelary deities, including personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits. There was also what may be regarded as a class of demi-gods, including legendary heroes, and other characters. Such a classification must not be regarded as exact in the sense that every god will fit conveniently into one and only one class. For instance, Tana-oa is at one and the same time a mythical figure, a legendary hero, a god of the elements, and the patron of occupations. All gods of all classes were ancestral.

The term *etua* or *atua* was applied to all grades of supernatural beings included in the above classes, except the legendary characters whom the natives refer to, for the most part, as men (*enata*). The native does not distinguish supernatural and natural, as we do. *Atua* were simply beings with powers and qualities of the same kind as those of living men (*enata*), but greater. Some men and women were *atua* in this life; most became *atua* after death.

GODS OF CREATION

The first gods of creation are summed up in the *vavana* chant (see Sacred Chants). According to this chant the original gods who emerged from between the level above (*Papa una*) and the level beneath (*Papa a'o*) when they were thrust apart were: Atea, Tane, Tonofiti, Moepo, Tatihi, Topeua, Pupuke, Manatu, Tohuhi, Tahea, Mahoi Pii tini, Tiki ei, Aumia, Hakui, Moui, Pini, Kea, Tu, and Ono-tapu. Some of these gods are known to have had a definite and direct connection with human affairs—it is probable that if our knowledge were better, we should find that they all did. Others, such as Tiki, Tu, and Ono, were also prominent legendary

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characters. Some of these names occur in the genealogies recounting the descent of man, others do not. (See Genealogy.)

Atea was the progenitor of all natives with Atanua as wife. With other female elements, or beings, as wives, he was likewise the progenitor of all animate and inanimate things. (See Genealogy.) His name never occurs in legends or in chants other than those of creation. He appears never to have been appealed to or propitiated with offerings. Atea represented a concept, rather than a god. An anlysis of the word furnishes some light with regard to the concept. Atea in the Marquesas corresponds to Wakea in Hawaii and Vatea in the Cook group. The "A" in *Atea* corresponds therefore, to Maori and Hawaiian "*wa*," Tahitian and Samoan "*va*," which have meanings in all these groups signifying space in one sense or another. *Atea* in Tahiti means widespread. *Tea* in the Marquesas means "white," "clear" (referring to water, for instance). *Atea* in the Marquesas should probably, therefore, be translated "white, or clear, space." The word for high noon was *o-atea-nui* (*o*, is; *nui*, great), which may be translated as "the time when *atea*, clear space, is great, or greatest." *Atea* may therefore be defined as the native name for the concept of clear space as a fructifying principle or force in generative creation.

Tu is a legendary character and the patron of war. His name does not appear in the genealogies.

Ono, as far as I have been able to discover, was of no importance in the actual worship—at least not under this name. A long legend recounts his exploits. According to this story, he defeated the god Tohetika, whose spirit thereupon became identified with his. Tohetika was worshipped throughout the group.

Tane was of little importance in the Marquesas. His name appears in legend and chants, but not in the genealogies. The sacred adz is associated with his name. The concepts of a male principle and light belong to Atea rather than to Tane here, though Tane was regarded as a "light" god in the sense that he was believed to have had light skin and hair and to have been the ancestor of the white race.

Tana-oa is mentioned elsewhere as god of the wind and sea and patron of fishing. Tiki is famous in legend as a trickster—according to one legend, he was ancestor of men through union with a heap of sand which he piled up on the seashore (Hina-mata-one). Pupuke and Manatu were patrons of the sacred chants. Pupuke was also god of the inspirational priest's house at Pua Ma'u. Tonofiti, who thrust apart the "level above" and the "level beneath," became a god of the underworld. Of the others of the "original gods," little is known except that their names appear in the sacred chants.

DEPARTMENTAL GODS

776 According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the natives of the Marquesas believed in three gods of the sky: Teuutoka, Teuuhua, and Tehitikaupeka. These gods were represented as being without tattooing. Teuutoka was supposed never to have come upon the earth. Teuuhua came to teach mortals that there were three gods in the sky. Tehitikaupeka was represented in the form of a bird. It is said to have been in honor of these three gods that three cries (*hono*) were given by the ceremonial priest when human victims were presented. It was on account of this trinity that bundles of three *fau* sticks were set up on the temple platform on the occasion of the funerals of ceremonial and inspirational priests who had especial rights to divine honors. The subjects of Teuuhua were called Ati Teuuhua; those of Teuutoka, Ati Teuutoka. According to Père Pierre, no subjects were assigned to Tehitikaupeka, but at the funerals of priests the house of the dead was ornamented with braided coconut leaves or pieces of wood cut roughly in the shape of a bird in honor of this god, so that he would receive the spirit of the dead and conduct it to the sky.

Of the gods of nature and the elements, Tana-oa's (Taka-oa) name
was the most prominent, since he was god of the sea and of the wind. He
is referred to also as Te-fatu-moana (The-lord-of-the-sea). Atea was
the god in the sense of being progenitor of all animate and inanimate
things on the earth by various mothers or female elements, who may be
regarded as the goddesses. For example, Uuhoa was the female progeni-
[805] tor of the coconut (*ehi*) by Atea. In like manner were the moons or
months the children of Atea by different mothers. (See Genealogies.)
Maui may be spoken of as a god of the elements in the sense that it was
he who pulled up land from the sea. His grandfather Mahuike, living
down below the earth, was the keeper of fire. Tupa appears to have been
a god of rocks and mountains.

Tonofiti with his wife, Hanau, are given by Père Pierre (4) as the
chief and chiefess of the lower regions. Ivieinui was the guardian of the
gate to the upper of the lower region; Pahuamo, guardian of the gate of
the middle Hades; Teikihaaotepo, guardian of the lower Hades. In
[775] legends from Hiva Oa, Te-upu-o-tonofiti is always spoken of as the chiefess
of the lower world, where spirits of the dead resided.

Every occupation and activity had its deity. Thus, Tana-oa, who was god of the sea and winds, was the general patron of fishing. But each kind of fishing had its particular patron; and each tribal fishing industry had its special patrons, whose stone images were supposed to bring luck. Pupuke was the god of the sacred chanting, and of the inspirational priest's house. Both of these gods are what we have named original gods. 776 On the other hand, the chief patrons of canoe-building and wood-working were Hopekoutoki and Motuhaiki—legendary characters, who were probably famous canoe-builders of antiquity. Tu was patron of war: those performing the war rites were called Ati-Tu, family of Tu.

Every type of sickness had its special deity. Thus Anoano was the [153] goddess who inflicted insanity on women and it was Te-oho-o-te-ku'a who attacked those afflicted with leprosy.

TUTELARY DEITIES

The tutelary tribal deities appear all to have been divinized chiefs and priests. In other words they were tribal ancestral spirits that had been elevated, through ritual of chanting and sacrifice, to the power of gods. They were supposed to reside in an indefinitely conceived region in the upper heavens. Although this is by no means an invariable rule, these tribal deities frequently had as the first part of their names *tau'a*—indicating that when alive they were inspirational priests. Such were the spirits invoked at the temples, which were actually tombs. For example, gods of different temples of the Na-iki in Atu Ona were Mokoio-tohotika, Tau'a-o-te-vehine, Tau'a-te-ihu-pu, and Maiaope. The last named deity appears as a human character, the inspirational priest of the Na-iki, in a legend which recounts a great war in which this tribe was defeated.

The tribal deities formed only one class of ancestral spirits, an upper class, so to speak. The ancestral spirits of lesser importance were those venerated in private worship. It was as embodiments of these ancestral spirits that bodies were temporarily mummified and skulls and other relics carefully preserved.

The adventures and characteristics of the most important legendary characters are illustrated by the legends[18]. The most prominent names in legend are: Maui, Mahuike, Fai, Tana'oa, Tupa, Hahapo'a, Hu'uti, Ono, Tohetika, Tiki Tu Kae, Tuapu'u, Akaui, Tiu, Kena, Pohu, Putio, Puainanoa, Puhi, and Hina.

Gods of different classes appear to have been conceived of as dwelling in various regions. Examples of this are furnished in the descriptions given above of the gods of the sky, the elements, the lower regions, and so on. Tribal ancestral deities lived in the sky, coming to their temples only when they entered the images named for them or their inspirational priests, while the ancestral spirits of lesser importance dwelt in the lower world (Havai'i).

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[18] A large number of Marquesan legends have been collected. They will be published separately.

776 The low mountain Kei Ani at the base of the valley now called Atu Ona, the ancient name of which was Vevau, was called Mouna-tauna-etua (mountain landing place of the gods). It is said that anciently all the gods from all the different islands of the group used at certain times to congregate at this mountain, the crest of which was regarded as a temple (*me'ae*). The probability of this valley and the surrounding region's having been the place of original settlement of the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas has been discussed in connection with settlement of the islands.

So far as I know, the original gods of creation were never represented artificially nor thought to be embodied in any visible object. Père Pierre (4) says that Tehitikaupeka, one of the gods of the sky, was represented in the form of a bird. All the images at the tribal temples, however, seems to have been representations of the tutelary tribal deities, which were ancestral. On the other hand one would suspect that there must have been images, or representation of some kind, of Tana-oa at the platforms on Fatu Uku where offerings were made to him by fishermen. The tutelary tribal deities may be said to have had also human embodiments in one sense, the inspirational priests having been regarded, at times of possession at least, as the actual living embodiments of the gods.

[784] In every valley and bay there were certain things, products of land and sea, or sometimes colors, which the people were forbidden to touch. Père Pierre (4), who recorded a great number of these *tapu*, speaks of them as things "*tapu* or dedicated to the gods." *Tapu* in this way in Taiohae were chickens, freshwater eels, red pigs, and fish called *u'ua* (*tapu* almost everywhere), *tatue*, and *heheimanu*. These could be eaten only by the priests. (See Tapu.)

SPIRITS

SPIRITS OF HUMAN BEINGS

774 The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called *kuhane* or *uhane*. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered. The ghost of a man who had died three weeks before our arrival at Atu Ona was supposed to be still wandering when we reached that valley, but was soon forgotten. Such ghosts linger about the familiar

scenes of their living activity, having the same general appearance, being 774 seen clothed, as when living. They were thought to move about mostly at night and to go silently. Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art. Neither a ghost of the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (*vehine hae*). Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living. It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became *vehine hae*. According to Père Jean the *kuhane* of the living could go and visit those of dead relatives in Havai'i.

Père Pierre (4) describes the manner of making a seer of spirits. He 774 says that a germinated coconut (*titupu*) was split in two pieces. Seven 791 orbits (*kapu mata* [eye balls]?) of sacrificed victims (*heana*) were then passed over the two parts of the germinated coconut. With these two halves of coconut the eyelids of the person who was to be a seer were rubbed, after which the eyes of the initiate were washed with the water of a young coconut (*vai oe*). Thereafter he had the power of seeing ghosts at night. In connection with the above ceremony peeled *fau* stakes ornamented with braids of coconut leaves and bands of white cloth were used in some way.

Mr. Linton (20) has placed at my disposal some excellent notes on 775 ghosts that he obtained at Atu Ona, where a man who was a noted seer was living:

> The *uhane* of well persons travels when they sleep, and the dreams are its actual experiences. It frequently makes journeys to distant parts of the island. The ghost of a sick person is especially active, wandering about all the time, even when the person is awake. The ghosts of the dead travel rapidly at first, visiting the houses of their friends and relatives, and their presence can be detected by a sweet odor. [Mr. Linton remarks that this odor was apparently connected with the oil used in embalming.] Later, after the decay of the body has set in, the ghost continues to visit the houses of its relatives and friends, but moves feebly and gives off a very unpleasant odor. The ghosts of persons who have been dead a long time are especially terrifying, some being black, some red, and some like fire. It is easy to injure the ghost of a living person, and M—— has killed a number of persons by shooting their ghosts when he saw them. If a ghost is struck or shot, the living owner, who is asleep at the time, dies instantly. In laying out the body a mark will be seen upon it at the point where the ghost was injured. Ghosts of the dead can also be shot and destroyed permanently, the ghost vanishing in a flash of fire when the bullet strikes it. M—— is believed to see ghosts constantly, and on this account never goes out at night alone. In former times the seers were usually old women, but were always specially instructed. M—— can enable another person to see a ghost by carefully pointing it out with extended arm and forefinger. It then becomes visible to anyone

sighting along his arm. The ghosts of living persons look exactly like them, but cannot speak, and seem to be unable to injure other persons. The ghosts of Europeans as well as natives are frequently seen.

Mauhane was the term applied to the spirit of a woman whose husband or son was at war or on a fishing expedition (9). Such spirits were supposed to aid the enterprise. (See Fishing.)

Actual physical death resulted upon the departure of the breath (*menava*) by way of the mouth. Absence of the soul (*uhane*) would produce, first, sickness, and then with the departure of the breath, death. On Ua Pou the mouth of a sick person was sometimes stopped to prevent death. At Pua Ma'u, the natives apparently believed that sometime after death the *menava* finally left the body, later than the *kuhane*.

While *menava* is to be translated as "breath," for the native it carries with it more than the sense of physical breath. It seems better, on account of the additional spiritual significance, to translate it "breath of life." A rite designed to strengthen the new-born child was described as being *na te menava* (for the breath) of the child. Again, one of the chants intoned after a death was explained to me to be *na te menava* (literally, for the breath; figuratively, for strengthening) of the dead person's spirit, which was about to depart.

JOURNEY OF THE SPIRIT TO THE SPIRIT WORLD

The spirit took its departure from the body at death by way of the mouth, being thought to leave some persons before physical death, others after. In Pua Ma'u it was said that the spirit went on its journey in the form of a dragon fly. Offerings—a pig's head and *kava*—were always put with the dead body in order to give its spirit means to gain admittance to the lower region. There were dangers from malicious demons (*vehine hae*, or *pepeke ou mei*), which were supposed to tear the spirit to pieces if they could come upon it. A dog was hung up near a dead body to chase away the evil spirits, and a pig was put under the legs of the corpse to furnish food for the demons while the spirit made its journey in safety.

According to the natives of Hiva Oa, spirits of all their dead went to the next world by way of the precipice at the western extremity of that island, named Kiukiu. It was believed that souls of the dead on Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Tahu Ata returned to Hiva Oa and likewise took their departure at this point. Spirits were thought to leap from the precipice at Kiukiu, to land on a rock called Hi'ia, which turned with them and precipitated them into the sea. On Ua Huna, it was said that souls took their departure via Tetiutiu, the western point of the island (perhaps on their way to Hiva Oa). Tetiutiu is so suggestive of Kiukiu that it seems

possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu 775
Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called
Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the [184]
island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a dis-
tinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. 772
The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a 775
paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the
best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was [776]
Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'ama*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the [196]
seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

772 775 196 commonly used. It was impossible to determine whether there was in their minds a sense of great distance or of great antiquity, when they used these phrases. These two conceptions, distinct for us, seem not to have been so to the old Marquesas islander. *Tai* means sea and it also means ancient times. The first phrase may, therefore, be translated either "in the seas (or region) of Havai'i" or "in the ancient times of Havai'i," and the second phrase, "distant seas," or "ancient times." The phrase *i a'o*, applied to Havai'i and other ancient lands may be translated either "below" or "to the westward."

772 775 The ancient chants and traditions indicate that formerly there was a conception of Havai'i as a land or region where men and gods lived in ancient times. Some of the ancient or distant lands mentioned in these chants have names familiar to us as names in other parts of Polynesia, such as Vevau, Tona Nui, Fiti Nui, Po'apo'a, Upo'u, and so on. When I questioned the informants who were working over these chants with me as to what or where these lands were, the reply was always, "They are lands, or regions in, or toward, Havai'i" (*he fenua i Havai'i*)—beyond that they knew nothing. Some of these names are also the local names of sections of land in the vicinity of the region of Hiva Oa, formerly called Vevau.

That the Havai'i of departed spirits was conceived of as a region below this world is clearly illustrated by the custom of looking down into the reflection in oil poured in the sea, or by looking into water in a taro leaf, to observe what was transpiring in Havai'i. There is, on the other hand, clear indication of the fact that the next world was conceived of as being a distant land, which was to be arrived at in canoes. Coffins, which were made in canoe shape, were called canoes (*vaka*). The house in which dead were treated was called literally canoe house (*fa'e vaka*). When a person expected to die, he would say, ordering that his coffin be prepared, "Make my canoe" (*Ta'ai tu'u vaka*). The descriptions given by early writers of sepulchral sacredplaces of chiefs, in which the bodies of the deceased were seated as though paddling in a small canoe, furnish another illustration of this, as does also the fact that the spirits of the dead journeyed westward on Hiva Oa and leaped into the sea from the western extremity of that island, indicating that Havai'i was originally conceived of as a land to the west. In summary it may be said that the evidence justifies the conclusion that, whereas Havai'i had recently come to be regarded as an underworld, it formerly meant an ancient and distant region to the westward. [174]

THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal 772
gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes 776
were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described [184]
by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing.

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

FANAUA

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing 776
them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits.

Tokai, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of 778
women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small [766]
platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon [776]
(*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or

778 not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts [843] as bait. These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

[845] Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

776 The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

> The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.
>
> *Fanaua* seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

scendants and would repel attacks upon them by *fanaua* of less power. For example, the father of X——'s wife has become a *fanaua* and protects her from others. Such *fanaua* can be used to injure women outside the family.

Personal *fanaua* seem to have been more numerous than those of the preceding class. According to informants a *fanaua* of this type would roam over the group watching the women until he found one to his fancy. He would then attach himself to her "like a man in love," but would not injure her in any way. At her bidding he would attack other women and kill them. Y—— controlled a very powerful *fanaua* of this sort from Pua Ma'u.

Fanaua controlled by the dead were those who had killed some one. When a woman had been killed by a *fanauc* she seems to have exercised a control over it and was able to send it to kill other women. It was on this account that offerings were made at her tomb.

Fanaua were exclusively controlled by women, and could only attack women. When they attacked, they first bit[14] the head of the victim, then entered the body and caused it to swell up as if the woman were pregnant. From the time that they entered the woman her own personality was displaced and the *fanaua* spoke with her voice.

When a woman was thought to be attacked by a *fanaua*, her relatives chewed up *noni* leaves and put them in her ears and nose, asking, "Who are you?" This often had to be repeated many times, but finally the *fanaua* would speak and say: "I am so-and-so," giving his name and the name of the woman who had sent him. Offerings were then made to his family that he might be appeased. In some families a relative of the sick woman attacked and killed the sender of the *fanaua*. The proceedings where the *fanaua* was sent by a dead person could not be learned. The sender seems not to have been able to recall the *fanaua* even when she wished to.

One of the commonest uses of the *fanaua* was against personally imposed *tapu*. An example was given as follows: A chief might *tapu* for himself the land of a person of less power. If the wife of the real owner of the land had a *fanaua*, she would send it to attack the chief's wife. The *fanaua*, speaking through the lips of the chief's wife, would tell the chief to remove the *tapu* from the land. If he refused to do so, his wife would die.

In the belief of the control of a *fanaua* by the soul of the person killed by it, there seems to have been some idea of an attachment between the soul and the *fanaua* that was unpleasant to the departed spirit and could only be ended by indicating to the *fanaua* a new victim. This point could not be made clear. The belief in *fanaua* is still strong, and the natives dislike to speak of them.

A few additional notes were obtained from the woman referred to above as X—'s wife. If her fother had died of *fanaua*, the spirit of the *fanaua* was always regarded as being associated with her in such a way that any other women who stepped over her mat would be afflicted by the spirit. No one knew what became of the woman's own spirit when she was in a state of possession by a *fanaua*. Such possession was always temporary. If a woman were with child at the time when a *fanaua* took possession of her, she would die with the child in her. But common possession by the *fanaua* spirit for a woman not pregnant was not considered

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[14] I am inclined to believe that this biting of the head is due to a misinterpretation of a pantomimic representation on the part of the informant of the way in which a spirit was thought to enter the open mouth of the person of whom it is taking possession.

776 dangerous, unless the spirit were neglected. Such possession manifested itself in a trance state.

As I have said above, I believe that modern informants confuse the ancient belief in *fanaua* with the possession of individuals by familiar spirits (*etua*) for purposes of divination and oracular utterance. When a familiar chose a woman as its servant and thus itself became that woman's servant, she had to feed it with offerings, else it would kill her and seek another controller. A woman who was possessed by and possessed a familiar in this way could send it on commissions, to inflict death upon other women. When a woman had sent her familiar out on a commission, she could only recall it with very large gifts. Women thought to possess familiars often took advantage of the popular belief in order to extort gifts from others.

VEHINE HAE

Vehine hae (wild women) is a term applied to fearful spirits in general. It was applied to phantoms of more or less indescribable nature and unknown origin. Other terms for such phantoms are *kaee* (8) and *etua peke eu mei* (god-angry-leaf-of-breadfruit). *Vehine hae* is most commonly applied to human specters or wandering ghosts. Again, in legends, the word is used for ogresses. As the name would imply, *vehine hae* are female evil spirits. A few instances have come to my notice, however, in which the word is applied to male spirits, but this is probably not a correct use of the term. *Vehine hae* manifested themselves in various ways. [824] Whistling of unknown origin was attributed to them and the squeaking sound made by the branches of *fau* trees moving slightly in the breeze or any other eerie sounds were thought to be their voices. Cries heard in the mountains after nightfall, and evil odors that assailed walkers at night were thought to come from these spirits. They were conceived of as being able to assume different forms: one was sometimes seen in the form of a cat, a dog, or a cow. At Taiohae it is believed that there is a *vehine hae* in the form of a woman, dressed always in white with long black hair, who is to be seen walking along a certain section of the waterfront at night. On account of the belief that these spirits were abroad at night, there is now, and probably has always been, very little promenading in the [513] Marquesas at night except by bright moonlight. Today it is fear of *vehine hae* that makes natives close up their houses as tightly as possible when they sleep.

According to Père Jean (19) spirits from Havai'i were supposed to come frequently upon the earth and were seen as *vehine hae*, appearing only at night. *Vehine hae*, seen always with the head and eyes turned skyward, had very thin legs, and were so light that they scarcely touched the ground. 776

Such demons were supposed to inflict injury of some kind on adults; but it was children that needed most to be protected from them: they were thought to steal children, to inflict disease upon them, and to play such tricks as exchanging babies without the knowledge of the mothers. In the legends, *vehine hae* are described as cannibal ogresses who assumed the forms of lovely women at one moment and of hideous ogresses at another. As beautiful women they lured men to their caves, where, reverting to their true form, with eyes popping out and long tongue lapping down to the ground, they would devour their victims.

ETUA HAE

Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night. They are apparently the same as the *kakainake,* which Dordillon (8) defines as fires like torches that the natives pretended to see on the mountains during night and took to be spirits.

TAPU

In the Marquesas, *tapu* meant primarily restricted or forbidden because sacred, not to be profaned, and secondly, defiled, spiritually dangerous. 784 778 *Tapu* had as its fundamental meaning, sacred; thus, a first-born's head was *tapu.* The secondary meaning applied to rules to protect sacredness: thus, a woman's menstrual cloth was not *tapu,* but it was *tapu* to touch it. *Me'ie,* meaning literally a clear sky, was used as the word meaning not restricted, free, in contradistinction to *tapu,* restricted.

TAPU OF SACREDNESS

SACREDNESS OF PERSONS

Males as a class, whether children or adults, were regarded as sacred in contradistinction to females as a class who were common. Chiefesses, by reason of their position, seem in this matter to have fallen in with the class of males rather than with females, in that their persons were regarded as sacred in the same way, and most of the ordinary restrictions of *tapu* for women were not applied to them. The question of sacredness of a chiefly is discussed in connection with the Chief and Chiefess.

The male first-born child was sacred beyond all other members of the family. Anything that came in contact with such a child had to be de-

784 posited in a special sacred place. If a child were playing with something
and dropped it, his mother would pick it up and carry it in her hair, her
778 head being sacred, until she could deposit it in some restricted or *tapu*
place.

Especially sacred was the head of the first-born male. The head of
784 every person, whether man, woman, or child, was regarded as sacred.
778 Vermin that were found in the hair must be eaten by the person whose
826 hair they grew in and never by another. To pass anything over the head of a sacred person or to touch his or her head constituted a grave insult. Especially must nothing that had been associated with women pass above a sacred head. Hence great precautions were taken to prevent a child from getting under a house or from passing under a bed or chair. If a child had gone under a dwelling house, the house had to be burned down immediately. Such *tapu* applied to all children, though not so strictly as to a first-born. One must never step over a child in the Marquesas or allow it to go under a chair or other place where one is sitting. The great attention that is paid to these rules regarding children is based on the fact that, unlike adults, they are unable to safeguard themselves against insults to the sacredness that is embodied in their heads.

Elaborate precautions were taken by adults to protect their heads from insult during life. If by chance tobacco were passed over a man's head, he must smoke it immediately, and the ashes must be buried where women never walked. No one would leave anything that had touched the head where women might by chance walk over it. Hair cuttings were put in streams or in the sea, where they would be washed away, or else in a secred place where they would be protected. An interesting example of such precautions regarding the head is furnished in the matter of the purchase of tortoise-shell crowns. These crowns could not be purchased with land for the reason that they were worn on the head, which was sacred, whereas land was walked on by woman. In other words, the the head that wore the crown would be profaned if the land with which it was bought were trod upon by women.

In the careful preservation of skulls after death and their use in worship is illustrated the close association in belief of the sacredness we have been discussing and the ancestral cult. As the head embodied the sacredness of the ancestral line when a man was alive, so his skull embodied it after he was dead.

784 Chiefs and priests were in general sacred, especially on Ua Pou and
Nuku Hiva. Their houses and their possessions were sacred, and special
778 coconut trees and other things were restricted to their use. All things
associated with sacred persons, places, or activities became sacred through

this association. Thus all of the possessions of chiefs or priests were *tapu*. 784
Likewise all the paraphernalia associated with the sacred place and with 778
worship was *tapu*. (The *tapu* of sacred places is described under Sacred Places of Sepulture and under Sacred Precincts.)

SACREDNESS OF THINGS

Colors were *tapu* in certain bays and on certain islands, apparently as a result of some priest having declared them sacred to his spirit before his [822]
death. (See 14, p. 53). All objects of that color were then *tapu*. The games of stilt-walking and javelin throwing, and the blowing of the conch shell, were forbidden to women.

The offering of first-fruits grew out of a *tapu* of sacredness. The removal of a *tapu* from a catch of fish which released the catch, making it free to be eaten by the people, was accomplished by offering a part of the catch to the gods—this offering of first fruits removed the *tapu* on the catch. Before eating a meal, natives always offered a little food to their ancestral spirits. In the story of Kae there is an account of hunting doves (*kuku*) in the mountains. The first dove killed by the men and women who were hunting was not eaten but was set aside, being *tapu*.

MAKING TAPU

It was in the power of the priest at the tribal temple to restrict, by making sacred, men, animals, houses, land, or any other thing. For example, if a man had a knife that he desired to be made sacred, he could take it to the priest at the temple who would consecrate it for him (19). Whether this was done by means of a ceremony or otherwise is unknown to me, but it seems probable that it was merely a matter of putting the object to be consecrated in contact with some sacred object, such as an image. Anything that had been cut with a knife, that had been made sacred in this way was *tapu*.

Similar to this manner of restricting persons or things by means of consecrating them was the practice of establishing ownership by giving a thing a sacred name. A man could *tapu* anything to himself either [424]
by calling it his head or by giving it a sacred name, that was his personal property. Closely related to this was the custom already mentioned by which inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things *tapu* at the time they died. One priest on the occasion of his detah on Uu Pou declared that long hair should be thereafter forbidden for the women of his tribe. Another priest on Nuku Hiva at his death declared that everything red, whether dress or food, was sacred to that priest's spirit and could not be worn or eaten by the common people.

784 778 *Kahui* were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals. *Kahui* on a smaller scale were placed by chiefs or other proprietors of land on single plantations, groves, or sometimes on single trees. (See Property).

SEASONAL AND CEREMONIAL TAPU

Closely related to the *kahui* were seasonal *tapu* relating to foods. These differed from the *kahui* in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (*kahui*). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing. (See Fishing.)

What may be called the ceremonial *tapu* amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind. According to Dordillon (9) the practices that were strictly forbidden at such times were anointing of the body with coconut oil or *ena*, the use of weapons, top spinning, laughing aloud, lifting the arms over the head, the wearing of colored cloth, eating breadfruit, and bathing. The conception at the basis of the ceremonial *tapu* seems to have been the belief that participation in any other activities on the part of members of the tribe at these times of communal consecration or devotion would interfere with the efficacy of a rite or work that required the whole attention of all the tribe. It may be said that at such times the tribe as a whole was placed under a spell of inactivity lest the [201] work or rites being performed be interfered with. Long peeled poles of the *fau* tree, on the end of which were small flags of white cloth (*tipa*) were the signs of such ceremonial *tapu* at Pua Ma'u. Restricted areas which were devoted to ceremonial, public or private, were indicated elsewhere by means of the same signals.

CONSECRATED ACTIVITY

Closely related to the ceremonial *tapu* in worship was that which governed all those devoted to the activities connected with any industry. The ceremonial *tapu* discussed above was merely an extension of this, a consecration of the whole tribe when activities of tribal worship were being performed. Only in fishing and war, so far as my information shows, did this consecration apply to the tribe as a whole. It is probable, however, that there was communal *tapu* at the time of other communal enterprises such as harvesting. The consecration of workers has been discussed in connection with industries. In the main the object was to protect the workers and hence their work from evil or contaminating influences that might be brought in from outside. All evil influences must be excluded in order to insure the efficacy and successful accomplishment of the work. There was probably also the belief that other activities might conflict with or detract from the efficacy of the consecrated activity. 784 778

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN

A woman's head was sacred (*tapu*) but her private parts and all connected with them were defiling. The *tapu* of uncleanness centered about woman as a reproducer. This apparently arises somewhat out of the sacredness of blood—the menstrual blood and blood at delivery. (Cp. the *tapu* on warriors after contact with blood—see War; also the *tapu* of youths after tattooing and incision of the foreskin—see Tattooing and also Rites of Childhood and Youth.) Particularly unclean was a woman at the time of her monthly flow. *Hava i te toto* was a phrase meaning contaminated on account of menstrual blood. A man could not smoke with a woman. [In some places the natives say that a woman could not smoke a man's pipe, but a man could smoke a woman's (9)]; the loin cloth worn by a woman during menstruation could be touched by no one but the woman herself; only a woman's husband could carry her dress or material destined to be used in a dress; a man could not shave a female's head, and vice versa; at the time of delivery, and until after purification by bathing, neither the woman nor the infant could be touched by any but female relatives. 783

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH

In the *tapu* applying to all things connected with death was expressed the fear of the native of evil influences—associated always in his mind with evil spirits—which would bring about sickness and death of the body, and worse still, endanger the well-being of the soul itself. This *tapu* required the destruction of all things associated with a corpse, and the purification of all persons having to do with the dead. The restrictions on warriors, or others who had recently made a killing, belong in the same category. The *tapu* relating to such uncleanness protected that which was sacred from contamination through contact with or by passing beneath that which was unclean. The curse that resulted from defilement was leprosy.

May it not be that this is the basis of the rule that forbade a woman passing over anything sacred? Man was a living earthly embodiment of

784 778 the procreating power, *papa una*, the level above, in creation. Woman embodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanaua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu;* a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

262 784 *Tapu*, partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua*, the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish 262
called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named 784
Vahi but not to the man himself.

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, 784
or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten 688
by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft.

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes 753
of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits.

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

753 sicknesses were the result sometimes of malicious practices on the part of ogresses (*vehine hae*); sometimes, of evil influences that had entered the mother during the time of pregnancy through food that she ate or through other contact with something belonging to the woman; sometimes the evil influences were supposed to come to the child through the father.

NATIVE MALADIES

164 The ailments of the natives prior to European contact were very few. My time was too limited to make careful investigations with regard to just what maladies were known in the early days, and little attention was given to the question of the introduction and spread of disease brought by visitors, the causes of depopulation, and the like. Père Pierre Chaulet was a doctor of medicine as well as a Catholic priest. In a manuscript which he left (4) he writes that, according to the natives, the only maladies in the ancient days were colds (*hapu*), asthma (*hekei*), a kind of venereal malady (*pa'atita*) [described by a modern informant as consisting of sores, which attacked the mouth, nose and private parts], venereal ulcers (*ukako*), venereal blotches (*uua*), bubo (*ko atua*), thrush (*ke'a*), pimples and pustules (*pata*), blindness (*mata po*), and deafness (*putu'i*). According to this manuscript, all other maladies besides these were introduced. Basings one's conclusions on the rules of *tapu*, one is led to believe that there was something resembling leprosy (*kovi, mohoi*) in the ancient days, and the same reasoning applies to insanity, violent colics, and the deep ulcers or carbuncles (*puku*). The leprosy that afflicts many natives today was brought by Chinese; influenza, venereal diseases, and so on, by whites.

158 Certain manifestations of violent insanity or madness are described by Père Pierre (4). The first was known by the natives as *tutu*. A man afflicted with this madness would rush about the valley, carrying the head of a dead person in his hand and throwing stones at people. An evil spirit was supposed to have entered his body. If a woman were so afflicted, it was thought to be a *fanaua* spirit that had entered her.

A more violent and dangerous insanity was called *uci*. A man so afflicted would clothe himself in green coconut leaves split into small strips, wallow in the mud, rub himself all over with, and sometimes eat, human excrement, and, carrying the head of a dead person, would rush about frothing at the mouth and crying, *"Vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu!"* Such a one would catch women, tickling them under the arm-pits in order to be able to attack them and would eat their flesh. It is said that anything red would throw him into a frenzy. This madness was supposed to attack individuals especially at the time when the flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been an hereditary affliction. 158

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua,* to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua,* to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person. 756 791

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If someone were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sickness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery. 755 787

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa,* meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above, 755 787 for there is nothing in the description so given by Père Pierre to indicate that the god in this case was supposed to enter the body of the *tau'a*. It has already been pointed out that ventriloquism was used in connection with the possession of the inspirational priest by tribal gods.

Dordillon (9) gives another description of this phenomenon called *etua topa*. An inspirational priest was called to a sick man's house. He summoned his god to come. When he had come, the practitioner asked, "Are you the god?" The god replied, *"Io, io, io, io."* (Dordillon explains that the noise was similar to that made at times by a fowl. The practitioner asked, "Are you angry?" The same reply came, *"Io, io, io, io."* The priest then asked, "Will the sick man die?" *"Vi, vi, vi, vi,"* came the reply of the god. The practitioner repeated his question. The god then replied, *"Vii, vii, vii, vii,"* which was interpreted to mean that the man would die. The god, asked when, replied that it would be the next day.

Another account by the same writer describes a similar rite as follows: The practitioner came in the evening. Songs were sung, and the lights then extinguished. The god descended and said, *"Ve, ve, ve, ve,* here is the fish on the land, it is Na-iki" (the name of the tribe). When the god had fallen upon the mat, the practitioner said, "Let your friend go free." "We shall go together," replied the god, "he will die."

According to Père Siméon (7) the ceremony of causing the god to fall began with the singing of the chant called the *mumu*. If it was desired to have a number of gods fall, one went to the house of the *tau'a* carrying the extremity of a coconut leaf called *kopiti*.

What was called *etua amo*, described by Père Jean (19), is evidently another trick of such practitioners. The god who came to possess the *tau'a* was thought to carry him and his mat out of the house in which he was seated, by way of the ridge-pole, without disturbing the thatch.

There is now living in Nuku Hiva a woman who is a practitioner of this kind, whom I was unfortunately unable to induce to work for me or to discuss these matters in any way, for the reason that she had been in trouble with government authorities for having supposedly caused a death by a curse. It would appear that this woman works as a diviner by means of trance rather than by possession. She is said to discern the cause of illness and the outcome of it, to find lost articles, and so on. Dordillon gives the following words, meaning to be in a state of trance: *ahue te menava, kukina o te ate, kukukina, kukuina, pueueu, pupukina, touha.*

MEDICO-MAGICAL REMEDIES

755 Medicines were prepared and administered by *tuhuna fainu* (*fainu*, potion or medium). There was a rule that a native doctor could take

but one patient at a time. If a doctor stumbled when he was on his way 755 to procure the materials used in making his medicine, he must turn back and start all over again. The hands of a doctor were *tapu* during the time that he was treating a patient, and he could not feed himself with them. Little is remembered today of the manner of professional practice, although natives still make use of some of their old remedies, most of them, however, like the rest of their culture, having been forgotten. Massage appears to have been little practised, though rheumatism was treated by rubbing with scented coconut oil. I understand that a great number of native remedies are recorded in a manuscript left by Père Pierre. Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity of examining this manuscript, which will, I hope, some day be published, as it would furnish students with what is certainly a far more complete study of native remedies than could possibly be made today.

A potion called *makiikaeva*, which seems to have been used to restore 755
health or life to an invalid (*fainu no te menava*), was made up as follows:
Two old coconuts were grated and squeezed, the inner bark of a *fau* tree 278
bearing red flowers (*hau toto*) was mashed, three stalks of sugar-cane were pounded, five taro roots were grated and seven *noni* fruits were mashed. The potion pressed from this mixture was drunk without heating (9).

After a woman had given birth to a child, she ate a kind of fish called *koukape* with *tiaa*, hot breadfruit paste. A magical concept seems clearly to be the basis of this remedy, for *koukape* also means a membrane in the interior of the intestinal cavity (mesentery).

When a woman's breasts (*u*) were inflamed (*hehe*), the doctor applied to them three or four leaves of the *noni* and cut these in various places with a strip of bamboo, being careful not to touch the breasts (4).

When a person had bad eyes, the practitioner rolled a piece of cloth in a hollow pipe, at one end of which he held a light. The person whose eyes were afflicted looked through the roll of cloth at the light for healing.

Puevo appears to be a name that was applied on Nuku Hiva to various maladies of infants, supposed to result from the mother's having eaten or handled something harmful to the child during the period of her pregnanacy. The symptoms of *puevo* are described as manifesting themselves in anything from sores and itchings to noises in breathing. The remedy for such an affliction consisted in the mother's burning the article, or a part of the article, that was thought to have been the medium of the evil influence, and putting the ashes on the baby's tongue. In order to safeguard her coming child, a woman, therefore, saved a bit of everything that she ate during the whole time of her pregnancy. If, after its birth, the child developed *puevo*, these materials were at hand to be burned. If

755 278 she had neglected to save these scraps, the mother had to find out (presumably with the aid of a *tau'a*) what had caused the trouble and then seek the material. Sometimes the cause of the trouble was indicated by some noise made by the child. One informant said that she knew of a child who made a noise like a donkey, and that the mother had to get some hairs of a donkey and burn them. If it was a chicken that had caused the trouble, a chicken had to be found—all of it that was not burned as a remedy had to be thrown away.

The remedy used today for the illness called *pa'atita,* which manifests itself in sores attacking the nose, mouth, and private parts, consists in mixing iron rust with lime-juice and plastering the sores with this salve.

On Nuku Hiva two remedies were given to women supposed to be afflicted with the evil spirits called *hanaua* (*fanaua*). The first was powdered pearl shell mixed with the water from a very young, green-skinned coconut. The mixture was drunk as a potion. The second remedy was made of scraps of bark of the candlenut tree (*Aleurites triloba*), of the *fau,* and of the *kehia* tree (*Eugenia sp.*) and the skin of the *heutu* (*Musa fei*) beaten together into a pulp. This pulp was put into a cloth, and the juice squeezed out. A dose of the bitter potion thus prepared was drunk by the patient, while the doctor struck the woman on the head with a *noni* leaf in order to drive out the evil spirit. According to my informant, the bitter potion was conceived of as owing its potency against the spirit to its disagreeable taste.

When a woman was thought to be afflicted with *hanaua,* the following curative practice was also resorted to. A hole was dug, a fire was built in it, and certain herbs were thrown on. Sticks were then laid across the hole and the woman was made to sit on these sticks naked. It is said that this would cause her to bleed. Sometimes the bleeding would stop after a while and the woman was considered as cured. At other times the bleedng did not cease and the woman bled to death. A woman submitting to this treatment never knew whether she would be healed or would bleed to death.

752 278 The manner of doctoring an infected hand was described to me as follows. Some kind of fish, a crab, certain herbs, and powdered coconut shell were put into a coconut vessel and placed on glowing charcoal. A half coconut shell having at its top a small hole was inverted over this and the infected hand was held in the vapor coming through the hole. This was repeated three times a day on three successive days and the afflicted hand was perfectly cured. The woman doctor who performed this cure had her special match box and her *tapu* matches for making the fire.

To prevent leprosy, a person who had been defiled by contact with 751
menstrual fluid had to find the woman who had thus defiled him and pro- 831
ceed with her, both of them being naked, into the river, the woman upstream, the man downstream. The woman must take up in her hands water that had touched her pudendum and throw it over the man who had been defiled. This would relieve him of the danger of becoming a leper (4).

SURGERY

Surgeons (*tuhuna tatihi*) were professionals who devoted themselves 754
to setting fractured limbs, replacing dislocated joints, trepanning, and so
on. The profession of surgery seems to have been combined with that 752
of healing by means of medicines (*tatihi* or *fainu*). At Atu Ona, the 755
grandson of a famous surgeon told me that his grandfather used to repair injured skulls by inserting (whether in the scalp or in the skull itself was not definitely understood) a piece of coconut shell, the edges of which were perforated. Trepanning is mentioned by Stewart (26, pp. 24, 28). According to accounts this same surgeon at Atu Ona used to repair shattered arm and leg bones by ingrafting pieces of ironwood. Whether these accounts of grafting ironwood and coconut shell are mere stories or not, I have no way of knowing. Mr. Linton saw and photographed a trepanned skull at Hana Pa'aoa.

EXORCISM

The most common method of healing sickness was by exorcising the 755
evil spirits causing it. Such practice constituted a profession, its practitioners being known as *tau'a hiko etua* (priests who extract gods).

Père Pierre describes the ceremony called *hakuoa*, by which exorcisers were initiated and consecrated. The trunk of a banana tree was cut down, wrapped in cloth, and placed in deep water in a stream. The candidate, dressed in white, took up a position over the trunk of the banana tree. The *tau'a*, who was to initiate her, clad also in white, then showed her how to rub, using the banana trunk to illustrate, and instructed her in the manner of snatching evil spirits from the bodies of the sick.

Good, though not detailed, accounts of the manner of exorcising were obtained from the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries. So far as I know, the practice is nowhere followed today. Accounts from the different manuscripts will be given separately, as they vary in detail.

According to Père Pierre, (4) an ointment made by mashing strong scented herbs on a reddish stone, was applied to the painful region of the body. After some rubbing, the evil spirit was extracted, the practitioner closing his hand and carrying it behind his head to allow the god to

755 escape. At other times the spirit was carried to the mouth—the *tau'a* would sometimes exhibit on his hand a blood spot which was supposed to be the blood of the crushed spirit. This trick was done by wounding the gum with the finger nail when the hand was carried to the mouth, and putting the blood on the palm of the hand. Père Jean (19) describes the hand of the practitioner as being placed on the painful region, closed suddenly, and then flung out behind him as though to throw the god away. Sometimes many evil spirits were driven out at once. The patient, on whom *hiko* was practiced, was called *hateanaka* or *hakanaka hiko*. In one ceremony witnessed by Père Jean, the patient lay covered with a large banana leaf. Nearby were several pieces of mysteriously woven coconut leaves. A priest and a priestess chanted during the rite. In another rite observed, it is said that the *tau'a* had before him some sort of image to which he chanted.

The manuscript of Dordillon (9) describes a case of *etua hiko* as follows: The *tau'a* anointed the head, face, and whole body of the sick person with herbs. He then said that the sickness had been sent by the tribal god, and asked the sick man if he had been on a *tapu* place. He named a goddess (doubtless the spirit of the sickness), saying, "It is Vehiehinui." Early in the morning the patient was taken to the stream. Herbs were put into a bowl filled with water. Hot stones were dropped in and, when the water was hot, the sick person sat on the bowl and was washed all over, the practitioner saying, "That is the water; it is Paiau (tribal god), it is Vehiehinui (a goddess); Tama-putona, Tama-kii-toto, Tama-pekeheu, Te-aki-tuehu. (?)" A piece of fau bark was then passed around the patient's waist and sawed back and forth; whereupon the evil spirit was thought to take its departure. The priest caught the god, crying, "What is this? Can you not leave him? Must you kill him? Let your friend go. You can take someone else." He then caught another, saying, "It is the god Atiu . . . It is a man eater."

The purpose of another class of rites was to heal the sick by frightening away the spirit causing the trouble. One of these witnessed by a
[776 man now living at Atu Ona, was performed in the following way: the
woman who was sick was laid, half naked, on *noni* leaves beside a fire; an
372] old woman, half naked, ran around the fire waving her arms, her object
being to drive the evil spirit into the fire where it would be consumed.

Père Pierre's manuscript (4) gives several examples of this type of ceremony. In one of them, a ditch was dug, leaves were thrown into it, and the sick person was placed on the leaves. Over the ditch, above the invalid, was tied a sort of grating of wicker work covered with coconut and banana leaves. Several green bamboos were split and thrown upon the leaves. A fire was lighted near the ditch (over the sick person?). It is 755 said that if the sick person showed signs of fear or agitation [apparently indicating the departure of the spirit], it was a sign that he would get well. But if no such signs were exhibited, the person would die. This curative method was used for the insane as well as for those afflicted with physical maladies.

The rite called *tataoho* or *tataua* was performed as follows. The sick man was laid on his back on the ground. He was covered over his entire length with a banana leaf, then a coconut leaf, and on top of that a sheet of cloth. The man's mother placed herself at his head, a sister at his feet, and others at his sides. An aunt, or a sister-in-law, or some other female relative discarded her clothes and jumped up and down seven times on top of the sick person. While this was going on, an inspirational priest, standing on one side, chanted. The priest then rapped seven times on the sick person with the top of the *ti* plant. If the same signs were observed in this rite as those described above—that is, if the sick person was agitated—he was considered as cured; if not, he would die.

A similar rite was sometimes performed near the place where the family relieved themselves. In this ceremony the relatives danced entirely naked around the sick person. The *tau'a* chanted the same chant and beat on the sick person seven times with the *ti* plant (*muku ti, Cordyline terminalis*). This rite was known by the same name as that just described above and was usually performed in the evening.

Another rite of the same nature, called *tomitomi*, is described by Père Pierre (4). The sick person was placed in a ditch and covered with a mat, pandanus leaves, and banyan bark cloth. Relatives (doubtless females) entirely naked, then jumped seven times over the ditch, in order to frighten away the evil spirit (*haa iika te etua*). If the patient showed fright, he would be cured; otherwise he would die.

According to Père Pierre (4), mats, girdles, the private parts of females, men's loin cloths, and the cloth from which they were made, and even pandanus leaves, because from these mats were made, were regarded as profane, insulting, or distasteful to gods, and evil spirits. When an unknown disease appeared, or when there was an epidemic, the [751] people often suspended at the door of their houses a mat or a girdle or pandanus leaves, believing that these would drive away any evil spirits that attempted to enter. Another protective measure against such spirits consisted in surrounding the house with briers.

Some sickness, supposed to be caused by the absence of a sick person's spirit, was treated by a *tau'a* in this manner: he ordered a small shed to be built and put in it *popoi* and *poke* (See Preparation of Food); enter-

755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

PRESAGES OF DEATH

787 763 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *kaako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahitiensis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mounu* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was dug in which the "bait" was buried, and the ashes and earth were thereupon heaped on top of it. It is said that the earth around the hole and above it remained hot on account of the spell, which was recited during the process. This heat was supposed to cause heat or fever in the person, on whom the spell was inflicted. The manner of working in Nuku Hiva was different, and was based on the principle of binding rather than that of burning. The bait was bound in a package of coconut fiber and buried. I have not heard of this method in Hiva Oa, nor have I heard of the use of fire in Nuku Hiva.

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, a *tukuka nani kaha* would never divulge his secrets, not even to his own son just before he died. On Hiva Oa I was told, however, that one who desired to learn the practice could go to a *tuhuna nati kaha* for instruction. The person who desired to have this power must kill his or her father, mother, or sister (whether by a spell or by physical means is unknown). The body was then put in a coffin and taken to a sacred place (*me'ae*). There, offerings and prayers were made to it by the person performing the rite, in order to increase the power (*mana*) of the spirit. Thereafter, the spirit of the deceased relative became the familiar of the sorcerer. (See the discussion of familiar spirits and *fanaua*, under Spirits.)

THE PRACTICE OF SORCERY

Père Pierre (4) describes the practice of sorcery in Nuku Hiva as follows. When the bait (*momo*) had been secured, it was wrapped in leaves of the *noni* with leaves of the *mi'o*, and certain evil smelling plants, and the whole was wrapped in the husk of the coconut and tied tightly either with sennit or crushed reed stems. This was then buried, with the accompanying recitation of a spell. During the whole time that the *tuhuna* was performing his rite, he must be naked; he danced around the hole into which he had put the *kaha;* he hugged the trees, invoking certain deities to cause the death of the victim. Père Pierre (4) writes that the bait was regarded as representing the soul or spirit of the victim.

The same writer also describes the method (on what island he does not say) of digging a hole in the earth, lighting a fire in it, throwing in some evil smelling plants, and, on top of all, the bait. The *tuhuna* then danced around the hole reciting the same incantation as was used in the other rite described above. This manner of practice was called *taotao te kaha* (*tao,* to bake).

According to a description of the practice on Nuku Hiva given to Krusenstern (16, p, 174), the bait was mixed with a powder, put in a spe-

754 cially woven bag, and buried. Langsdorff (18, p. 155) furnishes us with an exceedingly interesting description:

> For this purpose [killing by means of a spell] a preparation is required, called here a kacha, the composing of which is one of the most important secrets among them. The person who would fabricate one, must first wash his whole body perfectly clean; for three days he must not eat, he must not drink much, and must have no intercourse with the female sex. All the time he is preparing the kacha he must live in a taboo-place, that is to say, a morai or popoi-taboo house. The kacha itself is a little purse or bag made with the threads of cocoa-nuts and other threads woven together, in which the skin of a fresh-killed lizard, various sorts of plants, a little stone of a particular form, a small piece of bamboo-cane, and a number of other things, are tied up together. But the principal thing is to seek out some one among the enemies of the man they would afflict with illness, and procure from him some of his hair, the remains of something he has been eating, and some earth on which he has spit or made water, with a little piece of the cloth that he wraps round his waist; without these ingredients the kacha would have no effect.
>
> Three of these enchanted bags are commonly made: when ready they must be well perfumed, and buried separately in the ground, in some remote spot.

According to Père Siméon (7), the bait was sometimes tied to a stone and thrown into the sea with a curse. When this was done, there was no possibility of relieving the spell nor of saving the victim.

To kill a man by the rite of *tiha ipu*, the *tau'a* employed went upon a sacred place (*ahu*). A drum was beaten—apparently to attract the spirit of the victim. The victim's spirit (*kuhane*) was then supposed to be caught by the *tau'a* between two half coconut shells, and these, being held together, were then crushed with stone—it was thought that the crushing and destruction of the spirit of the man was accomplished by this, and the victim was expected to die in a few days (19).

SPELLS FOR REVENGE

When a man had been taken as a revenge victim, a female relative sometimes performed the rite called *naue*. Taking off her clothes she rubbed her body with red earth and ashes, put on an apron-like arrangement of leaves, and placed hibiscus flowers (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) in her hair. Then, taking with her breadfruit paste and *noni* fruits, she went to the place where the murderer of her relative lived. As she approached, she threw about bits of the cooked breadfruit paste and the *noni*, saying, "There are *feikai* and *poke* [see Preparation of Food] . . . carry them to your friend." Thereupon, it is said, two ghosts would appear, those of the killer and of his victim. The woman then danced about, striking her body with her hands. If the spirit of the killer came first, it was a sign that the murderer would be taken for a victim or that he would die; if the spirit of the dead man preceded, these results would not follow. The spirit of the dead man was supposed to be recognized by his slow walk—his body being dead, he naturally could not make good progress. 754

Personal revenge was also accomplished by means of an offering to a god, accompanied by the request that the personal enemy be killed. The rite was called *utuna* (*unuka*). A pig, fish, or *kava* was carried to the sacred place and offered with the formula, "O——, here is your offering, bring about the death of——." For the same purpose, before eating, a little *popoi* was thrown into the air, with the same invocation (4).

Another manner of accomplishing *naue* was as follows. Female relatives would come to the place where the dead man's body was, and weep. No one could touch them. Anyone who accepted anything from their hands would be taken as a human victim (4).

From Père Pierre's manuscript (4) comes this account of the way in which a man could revenge himself upon a thief. When a man's pigs had been stolen, he had recourse to a *tau'a umoko* who cast the spell called *umoko* in the following way: The *tau'a* took branches of the vine called *papa*, made a circle with the twigs, and then walked around it six times, saying a spell— 754 685

Around, around, O Oieke,
I am turning, O Oieke,
Take your man, O Oieke,
The man born of the land, O Oieke,
Taimenanu is the man, O Oieke.

The practitioner extended his arms as though taking in his hands the spirit of the thief and recited another spell. He then went upon the temple platform, pretending meanwhile to carry the spirit in his hands. Arrived at the sacred place, he put the twigs of *papa* (*Phaseolus amoenus*) in a hole with some other plants that cause itching, as for instance wild taro or down of bamboo, and covered all with earth. During seven days sexual intercourse was *tapu* to the priest and he must fast an equal number of days. According to Père Pierre, he would in reality fast three days, the fact of the other four being accomplished in a single day by lying down and getting up four times. On the seventh day—according to an informant, the thief fell sick and died slowly. [824]

A thief could protect himself against the *umoko* by washing his body with the grease of the pig that he had stolen. If the thief had done this, those who solicited the *umoko* would die.

Another manner of accomplishing the death of a thief was by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. The *tuhuna niu vahi* made a *koufau* by taking a stick of *fau*, scraping off its bark, and ornamenting it with little strips of white cloth. With this he went at night upon the house platform of the

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man he desired to kill, tapped on the pavement with the stick, and pronounced a curse. It is said also that he put in the crevices of the pavement certain objects that would cause the death of the victim when he passed over them (4).

To kill persons who had stolen, some of the root called *eka* (amomum), leaves of the *okaoka* or *hue puoo* (according to Dordillon, the *akaoka* was a nettle and the *hue puao*, a colocynth.) or *oka*, a kind of shrub somewhat like a raspberry bush, with the down of reeds were put into a hole made for the purpose in the soft-wooded tree called *pu'atea* (?). The hole was then stopped up. The thief was supposed to lose all his hair and die (4) as a result of this spell.

Spells for Protection

When a man desired to steal pigs or other property of someone else, he made collars of pandanus seed and offered them to the spirit of some dead person, invoking its aid in his enterprise. It was thought that after this rite had been performed the members of the household from whom the thieving was to be done would hear nothing, that their dogs would not bark, and that the pigs would not cry. The pandanus-seed collar was sometimes placed on a dessicated body, if one were available. Père Pierre (4), who recorded this practice, relates that a woman who had performed this rite stole a baby from a house filled with people and dogs, without disturbance or detection. She claimed afterwards to have been conducted by the spirit of a gigantic man.

When a man desired to lay a *kahui* (restriction) on his land, he took to a *tuhuna ko'aho* a coconut leaf from his land and requested him to perform the rite called *ko'aho*. The *tuhuna* wove the leaf into a representation of a human figure (*tiki*). He then heated a pebble in the fire, collected some shell fish, which he crushed, and a poison leaf that irritated the skin on contact; all of these articles he put together in a basket, and buried them in a hole at the base of a tree on the client's property, covering the hole with stones. Above the hole, the woven coconut leaf sign was fastened on the tree, being called *ko'aho*. The land was now *tapu*. It was expected that any trespasser would be afflicted with ulcers (*puku*) in the stomach or under the arm.

When a man's chickens died or did not prosper he might perform the spell called *pou hati kau* (*pou*, post; *hati*, to break or assemble; *kau*, ?). A post was set up where the chickens were fed. Seven small packages of breadfruit paste were cooked; the seventh being thrown away. Seven small packages of *makiko* (see Preparation of Food) were baked, and the seventh thrown away. Seven crawfish were caught, and the seventh was

thrown away. Seven small sticks of *fau* were peeled and ornamented 754
with bands of white cloth, the seventh being discarded. All of these articles were assembled, six of each kind, and buried near the post. This 685
rite was supposed to make the chickens thrive. Père Pierre (4) relates that sometimes a man could feed his pigs on pork and fish to put them [231]
in a better condition. I infer that there were magical practices connected with this custom though they are not described.

TRANSFERENCE OF A SPELL

The following account is interesting as an example of a transference 754
of a spell. A native woman doctor had been called to heal the hand of an old white resident. The grandson of this resident, a mischievous boy, interfered with and angered the practitioner in the course of her work A short time afterwards the affliction that had been healed for the grandmother appeared on the arms and hands of the boy. Nothing could be done to relieve his suffering. After a time, someone came to the grandmother and told her that the *tau'a* who had doctored her hand had cast the spell upon her grandchild, and furthermore, that this *tau'a* was at that moment upon her deathbed and that if she did not relieve the spell from the boy before she passed away he could not be healed. The grandmother then went to the *tau'a* and persuaded her to remove the spell. This she did before she died, and the boy's hands and arms healed. No one knew what the woman doctor did to lay this spell or to transfer it, or what she did, before she died, to remove it.

REMOVAL OF A SPELL

On Hiva Oa when one was afflicted by *nati kaha,* a present called *kahaape taetae* was given to a *tau'a* to reveal who the *tuhuna* was who had laid the spell. It was then necessary by means of gifts to persuade the *tuhuna* to remove it.

The following account of the casting and removal of a spell laid on a white man, the captain of a trading schooner, is vouched for by white residents. The spell was worked by a *tuhuna nati kaha,* an old woman of Hiva Oa, at the behest of a native whose wife had been taken off by the white man. The native wanted revenge. The usual method was used—that is to say, a piece of clothing belonging to the white man was buried, with the proper incantations, in a hole in the ground under ashes and earth. The eyes of the victim were thereupon afflicted, so that for months he had to wear a bandage over them. Finally a young native offered to find the cause of this trouble. He built a fire, sat down before it, and watched the flames, calling it *te ahi na te etua,* the fire of the god. He

754 saw in it the sorceress who was causing the trouble and went to Hiva Oa, where she lived, to visit her. As he approached, he announced himself by chanting (*tatapa*), "I am———," using the name of the old woman's grandchild. He told her that she must remove the spell, but the old woman refused to listen to him. A second time, the young man built his fire, saw the old witch in it again, and returned, telling her this time that, if [681] she did not remove the spell, he would bring the French authorities, who would send her to the French penal colony in New Caledonia—to a native the most terrifying of all punishments. Frightened into acquiescence, the old woman took the man to the place where she had performed the spell, dug up the article of clothing that had been buried, and scattered the ashes and earth. The native wrote down the exact date and hour of this happening, and it was found afterwards that, at precisely this time, the afflicted captain's eyes were relieved and he removed the bandage which he had worn for months.

PROTECTION AGAINST SPELLS

Père Pierre (4) describes the rite called *kopu ehu*, the object of which was to protect or insulate an individual against *nati kaha*. A *tuhuna* (whether there was a special *tuhuna* for this is not evident) was employed. He made of coconut fiber seven smooth rings (*mata*), six of which he burnt upon a stone, throwing away the seventh. The ashes he put in coconut water (*vai oe*) with *fau* flowers. This drunk as a potion by a person, insured him against a spell of *kaha*, even though one might be worked directly against him.

Sometimes when a person was employing a native doctor to cure some ill, a personal enemy found out where this doctor had built the fire he had used in preparing his remedy, and at that place the enemy built another fire and recited a spell to counteract the one intended to cure, thus causing the sickness to remain.

DIVINING

787 One of the most common methods of second sight was by gazing into a liquid. Thieves were sometimes detected by *tuhuna* employed for this purpose by gazing into a taro leaf filled with water. In the story of Kena, the hero's mother fills a taro leaf with water, looks into it, and, seeing the lower regions (Havai'i), dives into the water and thus arrives in these regions. In another story is described the pouring of oil on the surface of the sea so that the person might see into the lower regions. Inspirational priests at the temple were supposed to be able to detect breakers of the ceremonial *tapu* by seeing their images in their bowls of *kava*.

CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named 789
either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after 578
the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.)

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke [762]
in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4).

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men 291
working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war

291 dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress.
Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments
301 made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by
warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both
sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise
teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among
the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces
302 and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body
and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with
saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites
of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

291 The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth
passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming,
respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. II, *E*.)
[552] Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung
behind was called *fi'ifi'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave, tove'o,* or *kou'u;* the back knot,
poue; the part which encircled the body, *iona;* and the end which formed
the apron in front, *kotapu,* or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin
cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There
were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the
hami. The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth.
It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or
many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired.
Ka-ioi wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi.* These were
of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in
perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small
nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with
baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young
banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born
sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop
Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in
one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail
was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark
which was called by the specific name *kohito*. In Haka Hi this *hami* was
described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka,* old men. In Taiohae
it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in
front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

been made of breadfruit bark. The *hami tata taka pu* was one worn with 291 the tail on one side of the body instead of behind.

WOMEN’S WAIST CLOTHS

Ka’eu (*kareu, keukeu, eu’eu*) was the usual term for the waist cloth of a woman. Other terms for simple waist cloths were *kaka ahi* (8), *taka ko’oi, taka pu,* and *piti’i ko’oi.* Waistcloths were sometimes worn as skirts, and sometimes drawn up between the legs like a *hami.* Garcia (14, p. 135) describes the *ka’eu* as “a kind of little apron which surrounds the loins and descends to the knees.” On the other hand, Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of them as being “drawn up like [the loin cloth] of the men between the thighs.” *Eu’eu pipi* or *eu’eu ku’uhua* were perfumed waist cloths worn by women at festivals. *Ka’ioi* girls dyed these yellow with *ena.* The *eu’eu tukua* was a waist cloth made from the bark of the young banyan (*hiapo*). Very long waist cloths were known as *pahuka* or *pa’aha eu’eu* (8).

Noku, or *no’u,* was cloth of great length—sometimes as long as thirty or forty yards—in which women wrapped themselves as festival costume, or with which children honored at festivals were girded. A pleated skirt reaching to the ankles and held out from the hips on a hoop was used as a dancing costume. The term for this is unknown to me.

On Nuku Hiva *takahi* was the cloth used by a woman at the time of 841 menstruation—on Hiva Oa this was called *ka’eu.* It was made of coarse brownish cloth beaten from the bark of twigs of the banyan tree. Between monthly periods unused cloth was kept wrapped in fau leaves and tied with fau bark. When worn it was cut in a small square, folded and held between the legs without any articificial support, and after use it was buried.

ROBES—KAHU

Generically *kahu* refers to sheets of *tapa,* specifically to several forms 291 of dress made of such sheets. As worn by women, two corners of the sheet were passed around the neck and tied over one or the other shoulder, leaving the opposite shoulder and sometimes the breast bare. The margins of the cloth being left free below the shoulder over which the ends were tied, exposed most of that side of the body. By men the corners of the sheet were tied in front of the neck, the cloth hanging over both shoulders as a cape or robe. The common, every-day robe of women was of cloth made of breadfruit (*mei*) bark. Festival dress (*kahu*) was of fine white cloth made of paper mulberry bark. Young girls who were *ka’ioi* soaked the white cloth in scented coconut oil mixed with yellow *ena.* Robes dyed and perfumed in this way were called *kahu pipi, kahu pani,* or

291 *kahu papaki* (8). The *kahu utu* was a robe of artificially wrinkled fine white cloth, the cloth being put in water, crumpled with the hands, and then dried in the sun so that the wrinkles were fixed in it. The *kahu ko'o ko'o* was a full robe of white (*ute*) cloth made of a sheet of *tapa* eighteen feet long. At Pua Ma'u I was told that it covered the whole body like a blanket, coming to the ground, and was worn by the temple assistants. Elsewhere I was told that it was worn by warriors and hung down the back to the ground; and again that it was worn by women at festivals. Warriors on Nuku Hiva wore the *kahu ku'a*, a sheet of red cloth tied around the neck in front and falling over the shoulders and back like a cape. One informant said that these were stained light red, but he probably referred to dyeing subsequent to the arrival of Europeans. The *kahu ku'a* is described by Garcia (14, p. 89) as "a piece of red cloth draped on the shoulders like a Roman mantle." The *kahu ma'o*, a full-length robe of red banyan-bark cloth worn by warriors at Pua Ma'u was probably the same as the above. How this differed from the *kahu hiapo* is uncertain.

The *kahu hiapo* was made of reddish brown bark of the young banyan tree and covered the whole body. It constituted the dress of the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ōno*) at Pua Ma'u. The ceremonial dress of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*) at Pua Ma'u was the *kahu kohito*, made of heavy bark of an old banyan tree. It was a full length robe covering the whole body and coming to the ground, described as being like the robe of a Catholic priest. Another ceremonial costume was the *kahu koua'ehi*, a coconut leaf or leaves worn on the body by *tuhuna* on ceremonial occasions.

MATS

It would appear from the following quotation from Krusenstern that mats were occasionally worn on the upper body by men. "Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as merely to cover the back" (16, p. 157).

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Both sexes wore hair ornaments which were of two kinds, those called *pavahina*, made of white beards of old men; and those inclusively known as *ouoho* (literally head-hair) which were made of the black or brownish head hair of adults. *Pavahina* (or *pava u*) were plumelike ornaments made of the white hair of old men's beards held together at the base by sennit bindings (fig. 25, *a*). They were worn on the head, under the by women, but for the most part by men, both at festivals and in war. The

flowing of the long hair of the ornaments when a man moved gave the effect of swiftness. The hair was usually that of relatives. When *ouoho* were made for a sacred child its *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts), both male and female according to one informant, but only the male *pahupahu* according to another, cut off their hair for the purpose. It was taken to a *tuhuna hana titi ouoho* who wrapped it on small sticks, bound these with leaves and baked the rolls in an oven of heated stones. The curled hair was then attached to a braided band of sennit. When a chief desired *ouoho* for his child his people were called upon to supply it. Hair of enemies was also used. The different ornaments made in this way had particular names. (See fig. 25, *e*.) The *titi ouoho ke'i* was a small skirt of hair worn around the waist. The large neck ornament or ruff was called *titi ouoho* or *taki ouoho*. Where the two ends met on the breast a large whale's tooth was usually suspended. According to a Nuku Hiva informant this neck piece was called *hope moa* and sometimes covered the whole back. Dordillon (9) gives *titi hope* as meaning a hair ornament worn on the back, and he gives as the meaning of *hope moa*, a hair ornament worn around the waist. The wristlets were called *moputu ouoho*, *papatu ouoho*, *tope pu*, or *poe ima*. *Poe ouoho* were the small anklets of hair—these anklets were frequently made of black feathers instead of hair, and were then called *poe hu'u manu*. A generic term for these ankle ornaments was *poe vaevae*. Dordillon (8) gives *toke ouoho* as meaning a hair ornament for the loins; and distinguishes *taki ouoho* for the neck, and *titi ouoho* for the shoulders. 301 [237]

HEADRESSES

The word *pa'e* was a generic term applied to head coverings and headdress. Elaborate headdresses were made by *tuhuna* who specialized in the art and were paid for their work in pigs. 292

The *pa'e kea* (see fig. 24, *d*) was the typical festival headdress of Hiva Oa and was peculiar to that island. It was a crown made of elaborate plaques of white shell and carved tortoise-shell (*kea*, *tortoise*) bound on a band of closely woven sennit which was decorated with buttons and small plaques of pearl shells with a superimposed tortoise-shell carving. *Pa'e kaha* was the Nuku Hiva name for this crown. It is said that one of these could not be paid for with land because it was worn on the head and was therefore *tapu*: the land which was given in payment for *pa'e kea* would be likely to be trod upon by a woman, in which case the head wearing the *pa'e kea* would receive the insult. Fine *pa'e kea* were considered family rather than individual possessions, were passed on from generation to generation, and worn by different members of the family.

292 237 The headdress typical of Nuku Hiva was the *pa'e ku'a* (fig. 24, *e*) headdress, made of green and red feathers attached to a coconut sheath and bark cloth background. It must have been very rare at all times as there is no description of it by early visitors so far as I know, and as it appears to be rare as a museum specimen. There is conflicting evidence regarding the feathers used on this ornament. Dordillon (8) speaks of its being made of feathers of the dove (*kuku*)—the green feathers are undoubtedly those of the dove. The red feathers may be those from the heads of a certain variety of the dove, but informants on Nuku Hiva claim that the red feathers came from the bird called the *manu ku'a,* which lived formerly on the high desert-land of western Nuku Hiva, but which is now extinct. On Hiva Oa it is believed that voyages were made to A'o Tona (Rarotonga) for the sake of getting feathers of the *manu ku'a.* One informant on Nuku Hiva insisted that the *pa'e ku'a* was worn on the chest and not on the head, but this seems doubtful on account of the name. This headdress seems to have been typical of Nuku Hiva, where it was worn both by chiefs and chiefesses, but it was known on Hiva Oa. Informants from Hiva Oa described the *pa'e ku'a* to me as a headdress made of red cock's plumes.

The *peue ei, peue taki ei, or peue koio* (fig. 23, *b*) was a crown made of porpoise-teeth attached to a band of closely woven sennit, the attachments being ornamented with beads. This headdress was the product of the island of Ua Pou, where many porpoises were caught. (See Fishing.) It was an article of trade for that island with Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) defines *peue* as a head ornament made of feathers in the form of a vizor.

292 The *hei ku'a* is said to be a headdress, but its form and its name (*hei*) would suggest that it was worn on the breast. The accompanying sketch (fig. 25, *d*) is based on an imperfect specimen of a *hei ku'a* now in the Bishop Museum. Dordillon defines *hei ku'a* as a head ornament made of red plumes. At Pua Ma'u I was told that the inspirational priest there wore the *hei ku'a,* but another informant said that women who danced wore it. At Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, a good informant said that it was worn on the neck by *tuhuka.* Another head ornament made of long cock's plumes was the *hei mekameka,* or *hei pe'ape'a.*

The *ta'avaha,* sometimes called *vitake* (9), was a headdress consisting of a semicircle of long cock's plumes surmounting a pearl-shell disk. Early writers describe these as being worn by warriors on Nuku Hiva and on Tahu Ata, and modern informants on Hiva Oa say they were also worn there. One made of the white feathers of the tropic bird was described to

Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress). 292

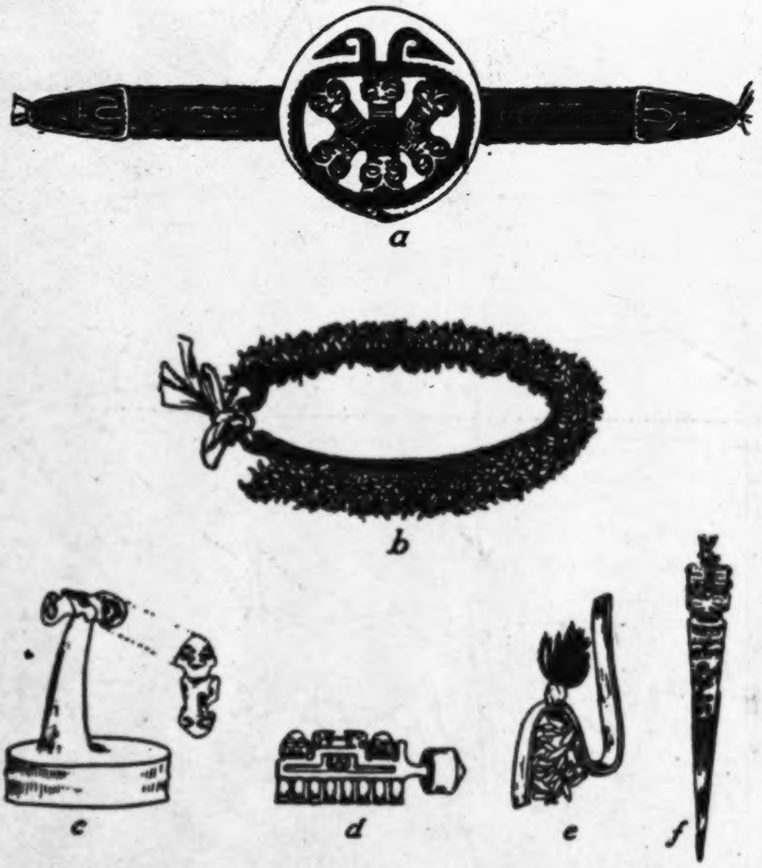

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FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikana*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*hakakai*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*taiana*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

292 A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a, pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pona ivi* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *takika, nuka*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koti'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tete poniu* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *poniu*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

301 Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai, taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

[304] The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te puaina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

[321] Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *c*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

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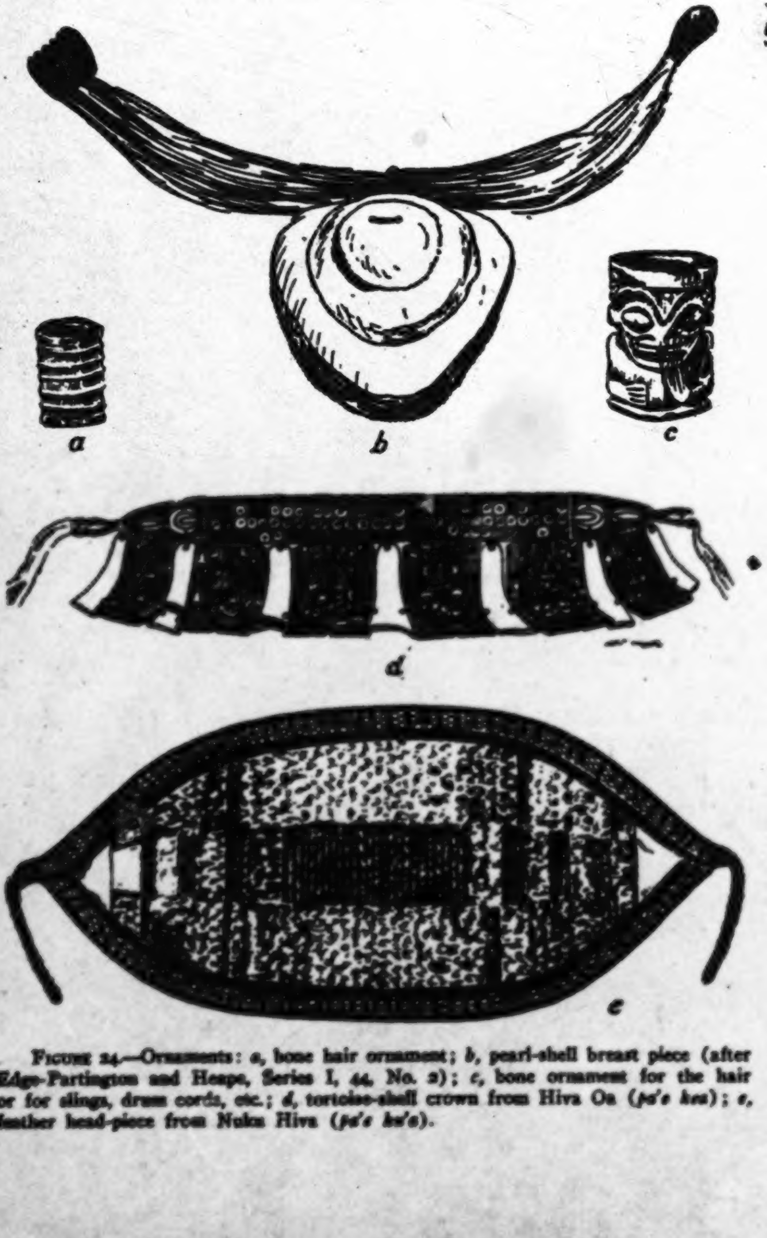

FIGURE 24.—Ornaments: *a*, bone hair ornament; *b*, pearl-shell breast piece (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 44, No. 2); *c*, bone ornament for the hair or for slings, drum cords, etc.; *d*, tortoise-shell crown from Hiva Oa (*pa'e kea*); *e*, feather head-piece from Nuku Hiva (*pa'e ku'a*).

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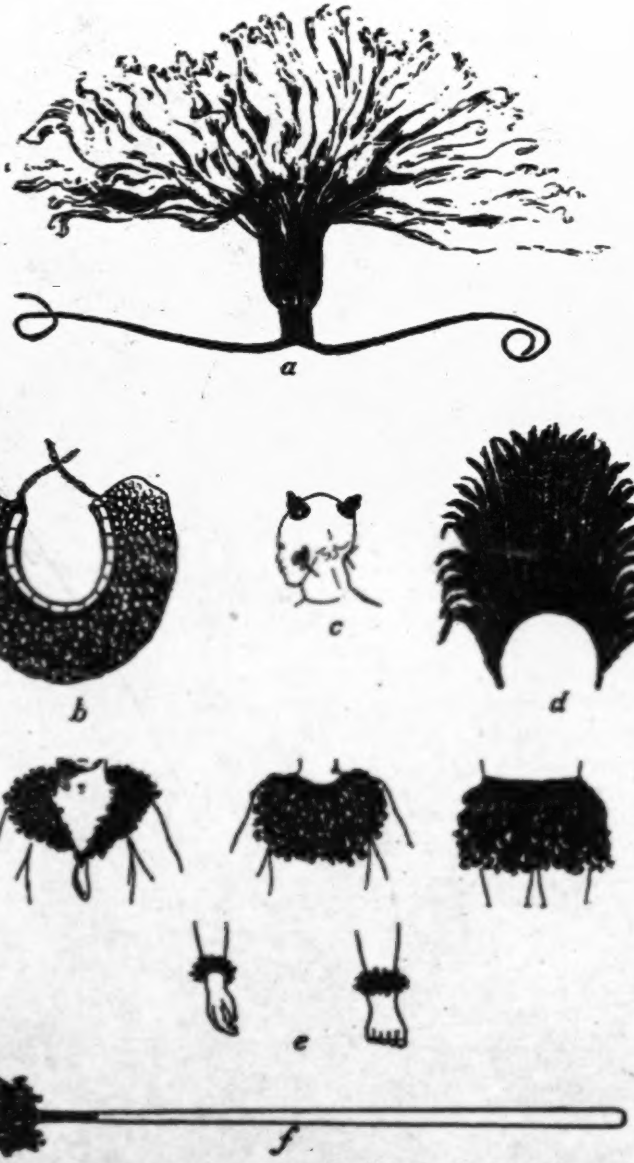

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: *a*, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*pavahina*); *b*, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); *c*, a man's style of hair dressing called *tautike* (after Langsdorf—18, p. 119, pl. vii); *d*, feather ornament (*hei ku'a*); *e*, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouoho*); *f*, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*to'o to'o pio'o*).

held the *hakakai* in place. The ear ornaments were sometimes made of wood in imitation of the genuine type. The enormous plaques of wood whitened with clay worn on either side of the cheek, described by early visitors, would appear to be exaggerated examples of these imitations. Variant forms of the *hakakai* were the great pearl shell plaques worn before the ear (14, p. 135), and what Krusenstern (16, p. 157) describes as "large shells filled with some hard substance to which a perforated boar's tooth was fixed." 301

Small ornaments (*taiana, taiata, pu taiana*) were carved out of leg or arm bones of ancestors (fig. 23, *d*). The carved portion projected behind the ear and the button or plug, made of shell, was in front. These were worn exclusively by women and girls, and were inherited in the female line. [321]

Another woman's ornament was the *omuo* or *komuo*, carved of hog's tusks. The button (*puiu*) which held the ornament in place, consisted of the operculum of a shell fish and was worn in front of the ear. What is apparently a simple form of this is pictured by Caillot (3, Pl. LXVII). Small rolls of white cloth called *koufau* were frequently worn in the holes in the ear lobs when ornaments were not being worn, in order to keep the hole distended. No evidence was found of exaggerated enlargement of the lobe. *Tape'a puaina, tuha maka, tohemaka uuhe, pohei,* and *tumau puaika* are additional terms for ear ornaments given by Dordillon (8). Descriptive translations are not given for these but it is probable that they are variant terms for the types described above. Other terms are *haruai* and *euhe*. What was the native term for the ornament shown in figure 23, *e*, is unknown. This was a woman's ear ornament.

HEI

Hei, a term used for both necklaces and crowns, refers usually to those made of perishable materials. *Taki hei* are necklaces made of fragrant plants of any kind. The following list of *hei* and the natural objects used for making them is derived from Dordillon (8 and 9), Jardin (15), and from personal notes:

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Hei fa'a he'a). The common yellow drupe of pandanus.
Hei fa'a ku'a. Red pandanus drupe. Pandanus collors were the favorite garlands of *ko'oi*.
Hei fa'a hoka. Pineapple eyes.
Hei pua. Flowers of the pua *Fagraea Berteriana* tree.
Hei pitate. Flowers of *pitate* (?).
Hei otime. Mint family.
Hei otiu. A small green cucurbit.
Hei pivao. The blossoms of the *pioao*.
Hei meia, (?)

301 Hei kakapa. (?)
Hei konini pa'a. *Physalis peruvania.*
192 Hei nano. (?)
Hei kanioka. Cardiospermum.
Hei tia'e. Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).
Hei meha. The bark of *Rubiaceae.*
Hei niou. Flower buds of *Siegesbeckia orientalis.*
Hei vaevae. The blossoms of *Cordia sp.*
Hei hoi. *Discorea alata.*
Hei vai-uta. *Lycopodium phlegmaria.*

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita,* defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of breadfruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[887] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

Because of fear of witchcraft hair was always cut over a stream or by the sea so that the cuttings were carried away in the water; or on special sacred platforms where the hair, like other sacred objects, was put in a pit, which protected them; or, according to Garcia (14, p. 49), cuttings were buried. Hair was cut with bamboo knives. Some men allowed their hair to grow long, others cut it short. Old men frequently shaved their heads entirely (14, p. 134). An inspirational priest is described with frizzled hair worn in a disordered mass on top of the head (26, p. 220). For festivals men would sometimes cut their hair short down the middle of the head, leaving it long on the sides. The form of hairdressing called *tautike* appears to have been the most popular for men. This consisted of two coils of hair in the form of horns, one on each side of the head (see fig. 25, c). The rest of head was shaved. According to Garcia (14, pp. 130-134) young men wore two horns over the temples, old men one on the top of the head. Hair was shaved off certain parts of the head as a sign of a revenge debt unpaid. This custom and the form of hair dress were called *tope*. When a war for revenge was brewing all the *Na-iki* men would have their heads shaved in this way, the hair being put in a pit before the chief's house on the main feast place of the valley. Sometimes one side was shaved, sometimes the other, or the front only, or the back only; or bands were shaved running crosswise on the scalp. The long lock was allowed to hang down on one shoulder, being passed through a bone or bamboo ornament called *puu* (fig. 24, *a* and *c*). When men went into battle they tied to this lock a skull or other relic of a dead enemy.

According to Garcia (14, p. 134) some women shaved their heads. The use of strips of cloth as headbands and as ribbons woven through the hair was a favorite practice of women. One manner of preparing young women's hair for festivals on Hiva Oa consisted in curling or frizzling it artificially and then raising it to stand out in a great shock through and on top of the *pa'e kea* crown. A Fatu Hiva woman described the preparation of this headdress (*pa'e putea*) for her tatooing feast as follows: the hair was curled by being drawn back on itself; it was knotted loosely behind, and woven in the knot were the ends of strips of *tapa* which radiated from the knot over and around the head, being entwined into the hair; on top of this was placed the *pa'e kea*. Married women cut their hair shoulder length. The cuttings were woven into the edges of sleeping mats for chiefesses or used for making hair ornaments. Women wore on the side or back of the head a knot of hair called *putui* or *putuki*. *Ouoho tavana* or *tavara* (or *havana, havaro*) meant hair knotted behind the head (8). *Paehu, pahe'u,* and *kofeu* are given by Dordillon (8) as words meaning comb. These terms appear to be native in origin, but, so far as I know, 302 combs were not used in ancient times. Dordillon (8) gives the following terms which supplement our information regarding modes of arranging the hair: *Ouoho tuetue, ouoho tukeevo,* and *ouoho tuke* meant hair fixed stiffly; *piama,* a head shaved in the form of a tonsure; *piveve,* to cut the hair in the form of a circle in front; *toua'e i te pa'e,* to let the hair down in front; *ponane,* hair simply tucked up without fastening; *koti'oti'o i te ouoho,* to cut the hair like a ladder [?]; *pa'e oioi,* a coiffure saturated with scented oil; *pohatae,* beard, or side whiskers; and *topetu,* a tuft of hair on a shaved head. The following should also be added: *ohovii,* curl of hair; *ouoho kaaputu,* curled hair (=*koputu ouoho, ouoho taputuputu, ouoho takaha*); and *poriri,* curl of hair on top the head (=*tapuaki*). Bleaching or dyeing of the hair was, so far as I have been able to ascertain, never practiced in the Marquesas.

ANOINTING, STAINING, AND PAINTING OF THE BODY

302 824 Bleaching of the skin was the universal practice of women and *ka'ioi* youths before festivals. This was accomplished in part by seclusion and avoidance of the sun but also by anointing the body with juices extracted from the leaves of the *kokuu* tree (?) or of the *papa* vine (*Phaseolus amoenus*). After such application during seven or eight days of seclusion the skin would be bleached white. The normal color returned immediately upon exposure to the sun. Women protected themselves from the sun with robes and leaf shades. According to Jardin (15, p. 41), *niou* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) leaves were pounded and used by women for skin bleaching. The root of *ena* (*Curcuma longa,* or amomum) some of it raw and some baked, was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make the body ointment or stain called *ena* or *eka.* The raw *ena,* covering the whole body, was the distinguishing mark of the youthful libertines called *ka'ioi* and of women at festivals. It was frequently smeared only on the face. The stain made from the baked root (*ena moa*) was forbidden to women everywhere and to all commoners on Ua Pou.

Pani was perfumed coconut oil, used for anointing the head and body, rubbing dead bodies, and for polishing wood and stone carvings. The oil was extracted from the coconut meat in two ways: by one method the milk was squeezed from coconut gratings, put in a vessel, and the oil separated out by putting hot stones in the bowl; or gratings of coconut meat were put in large vessels and exposed to the sun, which caused the oil to run out from the meat. Sweet-smelling flowers cut in small pieces and powdered sandal wood were added to the oil until they had soaked it all up. This mixture was then exposed to the sun for three or four days until the perfumed oil ran out from the flowers and powder. To 302 this perfumed oil fresh coconut oil was added. The *pani* was then put 824 away in small closed coconut containers or in bamboo joints closed at the end with a *fau* leaf tied tgihtly in place. Sandal wood (*puahi, Santalum freycinetianum*) was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make another kind of ointment called *poa panu*, which was used both on the body and head. *Huhe*, an ointment used to make brilliant the bodies of the living at festivals and of the dead on their biers, consisted of coconut oil, to which had been added a little *ena*, fruit of the *pu'a kokuu* (?), and sweet-scented flowers—in other words, it was common *pani* to which was added *ena* and *pu'u kokuu*.

A man and a woman each had to prepare his and her own coconut oil. It was believed that a man who used a woman's head oil would become blind (9). Sexual intercourse was *tapu* while oil was being made (18, [834] p. 138).

Painting the body with white earth was a practice of old people at memorial festivals, the object being to exaggerate their decrepitude (4). On Hiva Oa I was told that younger men would sometimes do this at festivals to make themselves look like old men (*ha'a ko'oua*).

OTHER ADORNMENTS

Women dancers wore, tied to their fingers with coconut fiber, long 293 white tail feathers of the tropic bird, the feathers projecting up from the backs of the fingers. Sometimes the white beard ornaments called *pavahina* were worn on the hands in this way, instead of the feathers. This mode of ornamentation was called *hihi*. Langsdorff (18, p. 158) states that six rings, ornamented with tail feathers of the tropic bird, "are put on each middle finger of the dancers." The feathers used for these ornaments were procured by catching birds on high rocks at night. The birds were never killed but, after the tail feathers had been pulled out, were allowed to go.

The fans (*tahi'i*) with elaborately carved handles (fig. 26, *a*) appear to have been used by both sexes, and to have been reserved as part of the dress or insignia of chiefs, chiefesses, and priests on ceremonial occasions. These were made by especial *tuhuna*. The woven part was sometimes plastered with white clay. The carved handles were made of ironwood or human bone polished with coconut oil. These elaborate fan handles were family heirlooms. Fans were made both of coconut leaf and pandanus.

The *kohe pe'a*, according to Dordillon, was an ornament consisting of long cock's plumes attached to the end of a stick. The *koke tata* is described as an aigrette of cock's plumes on the end of a piece of bamboo.

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293 The *to'oto'o pio'o* (*tokotoko pio'o*) was a staff surmounted by a tuft of curled black hair. Around the upper end of the staff, immediately below the tuft of hair, was a finely woven band with design in colored sennit (see fig. 25, *f*). These staffs were insignia for both chiefs and chiefesses.

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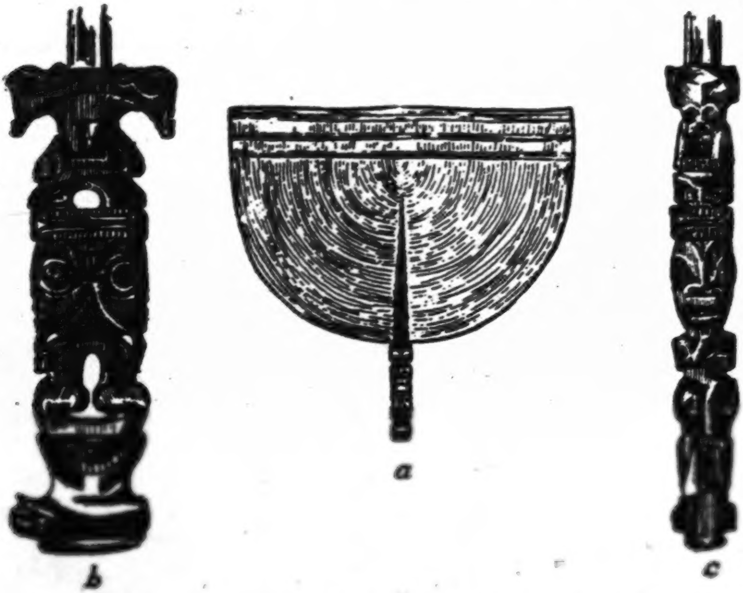

FIGURE 26.—Fans: *a*, ceremonial fan; *b*, detail of carving of a fan handle, front view; *c*, detail of carving of a fan handle, side view.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS BY EARLY VISITORS

291 The following descriptions selected from the writings of early visitors will give a better picture of the appearance and ensemble of costumes of
292 various types than is gained from the above detailed study.

Stewart (26, pp. 223-225) describes a warrior's costume. He says that the headdress (a *ta'avaha*) was—

> . . . a crescent, three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, the eighth of an inch wide, ran round the edges in a herring-bone pattern of alternate black and white, while the middle was entirely filled with the small, scarlet

> berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of hich it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the bread-fruit tree. The crescent formed the front of a cap fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long, black, and burnished tail-feathers of the cock, the finest I ever saw, those in the centre being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front-piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head, the feathers in the centre standing perpendicularly, and becoming more and more vertical till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends, falling from the highest point above the forehead one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side, played in the air with the gracefullness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen. 291 292
>
> In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks, and frizzled bunches of human hair were tied around their wrists and ankles; their loins also being gift with thick tufts of the same over large maros of white tapa. Short mantles of white cloth tied in a knot on the chest, and floating gracefully in the wind from their shoulders, with long spears, completed the costume. 301 291 292

The same writer gives some good descriptions of ceremonial dress: 291

> The *Tahuaas* have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a cocoanut leaf [the *pa'e kouo'ehi*]. A part of the stem, six or eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed round the head on each side, and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material [the *kahu kouo'ehi*]. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends, it is then passed round the neck, so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These article are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office (26, p. 246). 292

Elsewhere (26, p. 264) he describes a

> messenger dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows surmounted by a mitre-shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country.

For the following description of women's dress we are indebted to Porter (24, pp. 96-97):

> The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee* [*pa'e*], the second *cahu* [*kahu*], and

> 291 the third uhuwahee [?]. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece
> of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called
> 292 by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The cahu consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot it brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Cloth head bands and turbans are described by Stewart (26, p. 230) as follows:

> White appears to be the favourite hue, especially for decorations of the head. Their turbans are of various shapes; the most common consists of a piece of native cloth, of the size of an ordinary pocket-handkerchief, bound closely to the head, having the ends twisted into a large knot immediately in front or on one side over the temple. The ends of others are longer, and formed into large puffs or cockades on the top or sides. In some there is an opening on the crown for the hair, which, tied closely to the head, then hangs down in ringlets in the neck and shoulders. Some wear fillets or bandeaux only, either with or without bows or hanging ends, and many leave their black tresses entirely unconfined and flowing carelessly over their mantles.

The following (26, pp. 235-236) are descriptions of the appearance of festival dress:

> [The dress of a male dancer] consisted of a large quantity of white human hair, worn high and much frizzled around his head, of heavy bunches of the same material, but black, about the wrist and ankles, and of a profuse quantity of white cloth around the loins as a maro. That of the boys was more striking and fanciful. One wore on his head the feathered helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior, the cap and plumage being of a height equal to all the rest of his figure. Above his girdle, was a full sash of white cloth, tied in a large bow with long ends
> in front, and from it four white cords of platted tapa, two behind and two before, de-
> [301] scended to the knee, each terminating in monstrous tassels of black hair, fastened to
> flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles
> were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.
>
> The head-dress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth in a thick roll over the
> forehead, and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament
> of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large
> cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail, the whole having an airy and tasteful appear-
> [301] ance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic
> vine and the flower of the cape jessamine, while his maro of the purest white, arranged
> in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft. 481 526

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions: [562]

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength. [834]
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few 526

526 inches high, were made of hard-packed earth at either end of the course. It was on these that the spears were glanced. There were two sides (*keke*) of five men each. Each man had his own lance. All gathered at one *uma* and alternately threw their lances. The man whose spear went farthest on the first throw was called *keua*, the winner of the second was *fakia*, of the third *maiero*, of the fourth *fitu e vau*, and of the fifth and last throw *uarike*. After the first throw, the contestants went along the course, recovered their lances, and then threw the second round from the *uma* at the other end of the course—and so on throughout, changing ends at each throw. The side that won the majority of throws won the game and received applause of the spectators. It is said that skilled players could throw a lance more than two hundred yards.

There were two ways of throwing the lance. Sometimes it was merely held in the hand and glanced on the mound with a sideways motion of the arm. But frequently a cord was used, much greater distance being attained by throwing in this way. A cord (*aho*) four or five feet long was doubled and the ends were tied together. The knot was placed against the shaft of the lance midway between its ends, the doubled cord being then passed around the shaft and back over itself next the knot, (forming a loop around the shaft) and carried up along the shaft toward the forward end, so that as long as it was held taut the shaft was held in the loop. One finger was inserted in the doubled cord, while the rest of the fingers grasped the shaft. When the lance was thrown, the cord served to swing the reed forward until the shaft was released by the cord's being drawn up from the knot.

SHAM BATTLES

541 *Kaokao*, *pehihua*, or *kahuka* was a sham battle, in which opposing sides of men from different valleys threw chestnuts (*ihi*), young coconuts (*ehi*), young breadfruit (*mei*), candlenuts (*ama*), and even small stones (*kiva*), at each other. The opposing sides stood about fifty paces apart and had alternate turns at throwing. Each man had three chances at hitting any member of the opposing side, and only one man threw at a time. Men were severely wounded and sometimes killed in the game. The game continued until one side was so depleted by casualties that it had to give in. All the while they played, those who were being thrown at leapt and danced about, taunting the thrower and crying "*kaokao*" when a speeding missile would miss its mark. It is said that women sometimes played the game with oranges or limes.

BOXING AND TRIALS OF STRENGTH

Dordillon (8) gives a number of terms for boxing (*kotehe*) and boxer 526 (*makeruru, tepe, umoto, kere*); but, so far as I could ascertain, this sport was not practiced to any great extent by the natives in ancient times. Modern natives show little aptitude for it when matched against Tahitians. Melville wrote (23, p. 260) with reference to boxing that "The noble art of self-defence appeared to be regarded by them as the peculiar gift of the white man." Wrestling seems not to have been practiced as a sport.

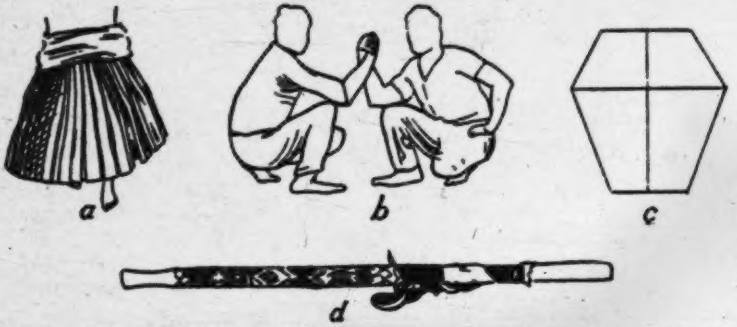

FIGURE 27.—Games and dancing: *a*, a dancer's pleated skirt (after Christian, p. 128); *b*, trial of strength (*hemohemo*); *c*, form of the native kite; *d*, drawing of a carved stilt (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, p. 42, No. 1).

In the game called *hemohemo* (*hemo*, to catch), two men or boys would sit opposite each other with right arms crooked and resting on right knees, grasping each other's right hands. The contest was a trial of strength, each attempting to force downward or outward the arm of the other. (See fig. 27, *b*.)

WATER SPORTS

Swimming (*kau*, to swim), practically never indulged in by modern 526 adult natives, is described best for us by Langsdorff (18, pp. 169-170): 481

> The dexterity of these people in swimming is another thing that excited no small astonishment in us. It is not easy to conceive . . . how men have accustomed themselves half to live in the water. They seem to be able to do just as they please there: they will remain nearly in the same place for a long time together, as if they were standing upright, so that the head and shoulders are above the water, guiding themselves solely by the feet. They will shell and eat a coconut in the water, or bring a number of things for barter tied together at the end of a stick, which they hold up high above the water, to keep them from being wetted. I have seen them swim with little children on their shoulders, or throw themselves from steep high rocks into the sea; and they would much rather swim over a creek than go a step around to get to

> 526 the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau . . . has of his own accord run up the 481 main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. . . . It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

Surf riding (*hoko*) was a sport for men, women, and children, where there were beaches that made it possible. Surf riders never stood erect as in Hawaii. The surfboard was called *papa a'a tai*. Dordillon gives *pakoao* as a term used for an amusement participated in by two people, one being borne inshore on the crest of a breaker while another person, coming from the shore, passed under him.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 Top spinning (*niu patu*) was a favorite pastime of boys. It seems that in ancient times tops (*niu*) were spun both by whipping and with a cord. In the story of Pohu it is recounted how Pohu won a top-spinning contest with his top, which was named Te-niu-to'o-i-Fiti.

In the same story other competitions are mentioned, such as stilt walking, drum beating, and playing musical instruments. Another game of boys was kite flying. Kites (*pako*) were made of bark cloth in the form shown in figure 27, *c*. Boys amused themselves by shooting shrimps and small fish in holes with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*), and put in much time also in practicing with the sling and spear, and at the games played by the men (*vaeake, teka, kaokao*).

Langsdorff (18, pp. 172-173) describes the following game:

> Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is struck a little ball of cocoa thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg.

Children of both sexes amused themselves by walking on half coconutshells. The foot was placed on the convex surface. A string, which was attached to the shell, passed up between the toes and was held taut in the hands. Another child's game, called *pohutu*, was played with small balls made of *fau* leaves rolled up and bound with strips of pandanus. These were swung on a cord and batted with the hand. The balls made in this way were also used in the game called *pei*, which is described separately a little farther on. Children competed with each other in trying to recite the greatest number of words while the breath was held. Dordillon gives the following terms which his translations indicate were names of children's games: *matapo*, blind man's buff (introduced, according to informants); *matito*, a game consisting of throwing a ball so that it fell in a small circle (said to be introduced); *mauevo* and *pohuto ku'a*, jumping rope; *neo*, hide and seek; *kou*, a game which consisted in trying to guess in which hand an object was hidden, also called *koi*. String figures were made for amusement by women and children as well as for practical use in furnishing designs for ornamental lashings.

OTHER GAMES[11]

KAI PATU

Kai patu, a guessing game for men, women, and children, was played with a piece of bark cloth rolled into a small pellet between the right thumb and index finger. Somewhat as in our play of "Which hand is it in?", the endeavor of an opponent was to guess under which finger the player had concealed the pellet.

There were three methods of transferring the pellet from its resting place between the right thumb and index finger to the other hand, and an opponent was allowed four guesses for each method before the player proceed to the next method of transfer. The player won the game when he was able to deceive his opponent twelve successive times. The first method of transfer consisted in entering the right thumb and index (the pellet between them) into a circle formed by the left thumb and index held tip to tip, and snapping the circle through the right digits in such a manner as sometimes to leave the tapa pellet between the left digits, sometimes to retain it in the right. Efficacy was added to the sleight-of-hand by blowing upon the fingers as the transfer was accomplished.

The second method of transfer consisted in spreading the left hand, palm-down, upon the lap and snapping the right thumb and index finger (the pellet between them) from under each of the left-hand digits, so as to leave the bit of cloth under one of them or retain it where it was. The third method consisted in snapping the right thumb and index finger between the palm of the left hand and each digit, so as to leave the pellet between a finger and the palm of the left hand.

If the opponent were wrong in the first of his four guesses allowed for a method of transfer, the player cried, *"Keua"*; if wrong the second time, *"Fakia"*; if the third, *"Maieno"*; if the fourth, *"Fitu e vau ua rike."*

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[11] The game of *kai patu*, the genealogical game, and the string figures were recorded and are here described by Willowdean C. Handy.

524 These terms are the same as those used in the game of *teka*, with the exception of the fourth, which combines the fourth and fifth of *teka*. It seems probable that either my informant or I was mistaken as to the number of guesses allowed for each step and that there were really five. Whenever the opponent guessed right, no word was said, but the pellet was passed to him and he became the hider.

A GENEALOGICAL GAME

Pei was a mother's game invented to teach children their genealogies and give the mothers a chance to boast of the number of their offspring. It was customary for mothers to bring their children to the feast place (*taha ko'ina*), there to vie with one another in this good-humored competition. Using two candlenuts as juggling balls, or sometimes two balls made of fau leaves bound with pandanus strips, each mother, in rhythm with the tossing of these balls, chanted the following *pei* (the names here used are typical possibilities—each player inserted the names of her own children).

CHANT	EXPLANATION
Muamua Teiki	Teiki, first-born,
Teiki, Ani	Teiki, then Ani (second-born)
Ani, Hotu	Ani, then Hotu (third-born)
Hotu, Poha	Hotu, then Poha (fourth-born), etc.
Uapao	Complete
Tatou mei oto	We from inside
To tatou kui	Our mother,
Kui aha?	What mother?
Kui haatepeiu	Mother a chiefess
Motua aha?	What father?
Motua hakaiki	Father a chief
E vii, e vii	Roll, roll,
Ta tatou pei	Your *pei* (balls)
I tai o Ahuau	To the sea Ahuau (name of the sea by Atu Ona, Hiva Oa)
Ui mai na tupuna	The grandparents ask,
"N'ai tenei pei?"	"Whose *pei* is this?"
"Na matou."	"Ours."
"N'ai otou?"	"Whose are you?"
"Na Peke."	"Peke's" (the father's name)
"Na Peke?"	"Peke's?"
"Na Moho"	"Moho's" (the father's father's name)
"Na Moho?"	"Moho's?"
"Na Tutu"	"Tutu's" (the great-grandfather's)
"Na Tutu?"	"Tutu's?" etc.
Haa to ii	Apparently meaningless refrain
Haa to aa	Apparently meaningless refrain
Tu ai tua	Apparently meaningless refrain
Tu ai feani	Apparently meaningless refrain
Feani tiiti	Apparently meaningless refrain

Feani taata	Apparently meaningless refrain
Ui mai na vehine me iuna	The women on high ask,
Uoa, Oupoto,	Uoa, Oupoto,
Ou to Katekahi atu tua	Katekahi (names of three ancestresses far back)
Ua vo tuu pei-e	?
Ua vo tuu	?

According to another informant, only the name of the first-born was used, and the chant was repeated for each of the other children.

STRING FIGURES[18]

Pehe, string figures (cat's cradles) made on the hands, are a favorite pastime today of women and children and even of men; but formerly they were of more significance than their present use as amusement would indicate. In the old days there were *tuhuna pehe,* who originated string figures and used them as patterns for lashings for canoes, coffins, houses, adzes, and other things. The sacred chant called "*oho au o Motuhaiki*" (see Chants), which was recited for the sacred first-born, contains a reference to a string figure called *na humu o Tana-oa,* which was evidently the pattern for binding the child's sacred adz:

"Put it on the handle
Fix it well on the crooked *mi'o* stick
Bind it with black and red sennit spun of fine fiber
Bind it with the binding of Tana-oa (*humu o Tana-oa*)."

Mr. Linton was told the story of Aka, who went to the island of "Kaukau o meia," where he made cord out of the fiber of the banana tree and learned the *pehe* (string figures). It is possible that the patterns were made of such fiber before being copied in coconut fiber (*puu kaha*) for lashings.

String figures in the Marquesas are varied in technique of making and in the form of pattern evolved. Some are made in the usual method by interweaving, exchanging, and dropping loops upon the fingers and a final extension upon both hands; some are woven on the fingers of one hand, which act as pegs; some are made by twisting the cord around the hand, arm, or foot in a manner apparently complicated, but the figure unravels at a touch; and some are played by two persons, who interweave their loops.

The figures evolved fall into several types: those resulting in a single fixed pattern; those growing into more and more complicated figures from a single start; those dissolving into a series of simpler figures; those continuing endlessly in a cycle of changes; those which slide back

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[18] Detailed descriptions of the processes of making about thirty Marquesan string figures have been obtained and drawings of the figures have been made.

529 and forth with the pulling of a string, to the accompaniment of words; three-sided figures; figures made on four hands; and trick figures that disappear with a single jerk of the string.

[552] All the figures are named: some for an object which the pattern resembles—a pool of Hakahaa, the squarish ray fish, a house, a *kava* bowl, the tropic bird, the intestinal membrane, lightning, the island of Ua Huka; some for objects used by the natives, but without any resemblance to them in form, such as a sweet-smelling wreath or a stone pounder; some for mythological characters or objects—the *kava* bowl of Akaui, the canoe of Hai, Tohiau (a hero), the many roads of Tafai, the fish of Tana-oa, the house of Tonahei, the house of Atanua; some for places where the design was used possibly for lasings, such as the back post of the house or the attachment of breadfruit net; some for the action of the figure which seems to resemble the activity of some animal or person, such as a thief sneaking about or an eel slipping through the fingers.

DANCING

ANCIENT DANCING

535 The natives of this generation know practically nothing of the dancing of ancient times. A few can give vague descriptions. No one can show how any of the dances were actually done. Sufficient was learned, however, to prove three significant points: there was anciently no dance corresponding to the hula of Hawaii and *upaupa* of Tahiti, of which the hip and abdominal movements are the characteristic feature; there was solo dancing, rather than group dancing; there were no war dances.

Few of the descriptions of dances and dancing given by the early visitors are of any value. Krusenstern (16, pp. 176-177) says, "Their dancing consists in hopping for a considerable time on the same spot, frequently raising the hands in the air, and moving the fingers with great velocity."

Langsdorff (18, p. 158) also describes dancing that he witnessed:

> The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomomic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

Stewart (26, pp. 234-235) gives a fairly good picture of a performance that he saw:

The performers in the part we witnessed, were a young chief eighteen or twenty years old at one end of the arena, and two boys of eight or ten at the corners of the other. The music, if such it can be called, was that of four drums on each side of the inner pavement, and the voices and loud clapping of hands of about one hundred and fifty singers, seated on the upper platform with the chiefs and warriors. . . . .

The drums stand upright on the ground before the performer, and are beaten with the hand only, in rapid strokes of the fingers joined together, while the ball rests on the edge. . . . .

The dance commenced by a slow beating on the drums, following by graceful movements of the hands, arms, and feet of the dancers in a similar time, but increasing quickly with the rapidity of the beat, to a display of great activity. The singers joined in upon the first motions of the dancers, these last also taking a part, sometimes in solos, and sometimes in duet, followed by responses from the orchestra or grand choruses by the whole. . . . .

The dance ceased at the end of twenty or thirty minutes, and a company of young females, forty or fifty in number, seated on an adjoining and elevated platform, began singing, in the dull and monotonous repetitions of the same intonations of voice characterizing all their songs, accompanied by a loud and simultaneous clapping of the hands, brought together in a manner to produce a very peculiar sound. An inquiry into the meaning of this, made us acquainted with the occasion of the present celebration.

The learning of a new set of songs had been enjoined some months previous on these girls, and they were placed under certain restrictions of the tabu till it should be accomplished. This had now been done, and the dance was held in commemoration of it. It was only of a common kind, and not of sufficient interest to attract the great multitude that often assemble, as we are told, at some of the more distinguished.

The most common and most popular dance appears to have been that which was called *haka pahaka*. According to Dordillon (8) this was done by men only, and this statement is confirmed by modern informants. The characteristic feature of this dance was that it was performed by the dancer on one foot, the other foot and both arms being extended. One informant describes seeing a performance of the *haka pahaka*, which was danced by four men and two women. The women were inside a circle formed by the men. This description would suggest that the raised and extended foot rested on the leg of the man next, as in some of the dances of Micronesia, but whether this was done in the Marquesas or not I did not ascertain. All other informants have led me to believe that individuals danced alone on one foot in the way described—in other words that it was always a solo dance.

At Pua Ma'u the natives said that in this dance one man would challenge another, each trying to catch his opponent by the head as he danced about on one leg. The favorite shift was that of dodging under the arm of one's opponent. If a dancer could catch the head of his opponent and upset him the other man was defeated. The inhabitants of Pua Ma'u say that this dance was brought to this bay from the island of Ua Pou. The people of Ua Pou speak of it as a dance in which the chief particularly showed off his splendor at festivals. On the feast place of Hakahau is a large column of basalt, about five feet high and square on top, upon which the chief used to mount to perform the *haka pahaka*, with arms extended and one leg raised sideways while all his people admired him.

The *haka pahaka* accompanied various songs, having no particular musical accompaniment of its own. One informant stated that it was danced with the long feather ornaments called *kihi* (see Personal Adornment) on the fingers, but other information makes me think he was in error. A Nuku Hiva man described the *pahaka* as being performed by a group of men dancing on one foot around a number of women who stood inside, while drums, hand-clapping (*papaki*), clapping the hand against the cavity formed by holding the elbow against the side of the body (*hoko*), and the singing of the chant called *uta*, furnished the accompaniment. The women in the middle are said to have danced with their arms raised in the air and with hands quivering. Different groups of accompanists beat the drums, clapped, made the *hoko*, and sang. The informant who gave the account said that this dance was also called specifically the *hu'a*.

On Ua Pou the *hu'a* was described by an old woman who had seen the dance in her youth. It was done by two men, each of whom wore feather or beard ornaments (*kihi*) on all four fingers of each hand. One man was seated, while the other stood with arms extended, one foot resting on the other's knee.

The *haka koke*, or *hakakokekoke*, was a very active dance done by both men and women, the main feature of which seems to have been the crossing of the feet in the dance (*koke* means to cross the feet). One motion of the dance was described to me as consisting in standing on one foot with arms extended and leaning over half sideways and half backwards until the long feathers of the headdress of the dancer touched the ground. This was the test of an accomplished dancer.

The dance described by Marchand (22, p. 137) in which men carried on an accompaniment by clapping one hand on the opposite crooked elbow (*hoko*), and clapping the hands one against the other while "a single dancer executes some movement with the legs, crossing one over the other without changing his place" was apparently the *haka kokekoke*.

The *haka manumanu* (*manu*, bird) was performed by young girls at the *ko'ina tuhi ue* (see Festivals: Tattooing). The girls are described as standing stationary and making motions with the arms and hands imitative of birds flying. For this dance the feather ornaments called *kiki* were worn on the fingers. The dancers wore the great pleated hoop skirt. (See fig. 27, *a*.)

The dance by naked women at funerary feasts and by widows of warriors before war was called *heva* or *hakahevaheva*. The hair was allowed to hang down behind, and the arms were raised over the head, the hands being quivered or fluttered while there was a continuous jumping up and down—as they leapt the mourners uttered sharp cries. Women are described as dancing naked at the great funerary feast called *vaihopu*. (See Festivals.) Whether this was the *heva* dance or not I do not know, but it seems probable that it was. On Nuku Hiva, this dance was called *ue tupapaku*, weeping for the dead. Melville's description of old women dancing naked at a festival is quoted in the section on funerary rites. (See Death.)

Another dance called the *tutu* is described as being done by women alone to the accompaniment of clapping by men. The women wore the feather ornaments on their fingers. In the manuscript of Dordillon (9) is described a dance called *uhe*, in which dancers whose bodies were stained with the yellow *ena* performed in a circle holding hands around the child of a chief. In Dordillon's dictionary (8) are given the following [192] terms referring to dances and dancing: *tutaehamereu, tutaehaveneu*, dance of libertines; *tunotunou*, to pantomime; *patautau*, lecherous dance; *ma'e'e*, dance; *ko'e'e*, to flutter the hands in dancing; *keremaitu*, kind of dance; *huhumaitu*, dance for amusement; *haka'eva'eva*, to sing and dance in honor of someone to obtain presents; *ha'a navenave*, to play the clown, dance naked; *enata ha'a navenave*, a clown. The little that is known concerning the pantomimic performances at the memorial festivals is described in conjunction with those rites.

MODERN DANCING

The *tapriata*, the dance that is always seen today in the Marquesas, is not an ancient dance of these islands. It is said to have been introduced from the Tuamotus and is probably original in that region or Tahiti, or perhaps both. It is dramatic and pantomimic, expressing stories, incidents and messages. Every such dance has its particular name indicative of the story it tells or the message it carries. For instance one performed especially in our honor was called *"Ka'oha nui,"* which may be here translated, "Cordial greetings to you."

In the *tapriata* as it was seen by us in the Marquesas, the dancers always remained in one spot, the men being in two parallel rows with the women in between, if it were a dance in which women took part.

535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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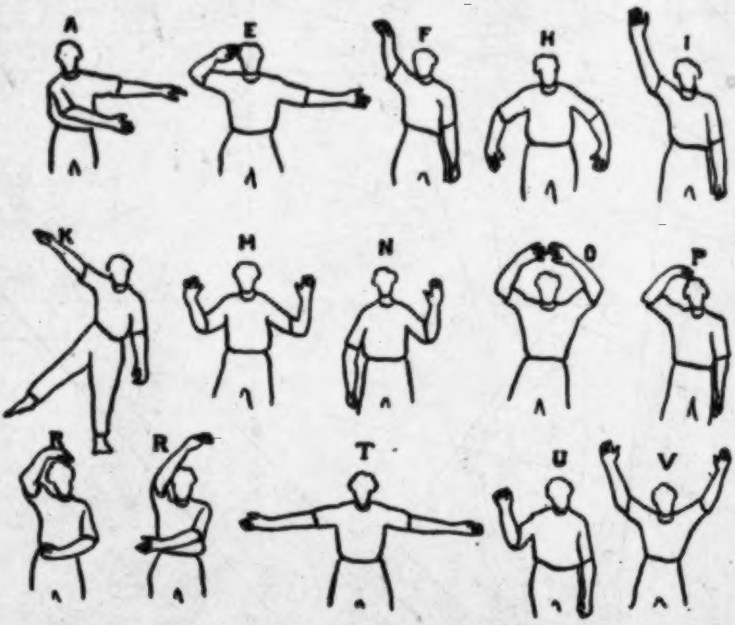

Figure 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriata*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with
[534] two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

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introductory drumming one man among the dancers cries out in a high rapid monotone the announcement of the dance. With the last word of this announcement the dancers begin. In some *tapriata*, there is a repetition of this cry at different points through the dance. Caillot (3, pls. XLVII, XLIX, L, LI, LII) gives pictures of *tapriata* in the Marquesas.

HOKI TROUPES

Hoki were visiting parties of singers and dancers who went from valley to valley and sometimes from island to island, giving their performances, and seeking gifts in return. According to native informants both on Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, this custom, strongly suggesting the *arioi* of Tahiti, was not ancient but grew up in both sections of the group after French occupation. It seems that the custom could not have been introduced from Tahiti, for all activities of the *arioi* on that island ceased years before French occupation in the Marquesas. A *hoki* party in the Marquesas would be made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, or young people, but included also married people. I am by no means convinced, however, that the *hoki* was not a revival of an ancient custom of this kind, coming as the result of the cessation of native warfare after the French control had established itself, and of the consequent safety of such parties in going from valley to valley. The description of *hoki* troupes in the legends of Ono and Tupa, both certainly ancient, is very strong evidence that the institution was an ancient one in the Marquesas. In times which preceded the protohistoric period, during which wars of revenge were running riot throughout the islands, it is probable that the people of the group or sections of the group were more unified, and that traveling dancing troupes resembling the *arioi* of Tahiti would have been able to go about in safety.

Hoki was actually the name of the type of song that was composed and sung by these troupes and is said to be the ancient term for *rari*. (See Chants.) On Hiva Oa it is said that the *hoki* originated as a means of supporting parties visiting in a valley at the time of a festival. There seems to have been no particular season or time when these troupes went about. The people who constituted the party were called *po'i hoki*—any group of men and women, numbering usually about forty, could organize themselves into a *hoki*. A song (*hoki*) was composed for them. The song was laudatory and was arranged so that the names of different persons could be inserted in it when it was sung in their honor. Some *hoki* were made up solely of names arranged and sung rhythmically. When the *hoki* troupe had composed, practiced, and learned their song they would start off for another island or another valley. Both men and

Both men and

535 [302] women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *tokotoko pio'o,* see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki,* according to this informant, was the custom called *moko,* which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko,* and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva.* For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

534 Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f*.) Small tiki figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing [532 321] together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

Very large drums (*pahu anaana, hoho te pepe*) were used on the dance area at the great festivals, being placed on the ground-level of the paved space next to a platform on which the beaters stood. It is said that the base sometimes rested on a pile of brush, which gave the great instrument a deeper sound. Smaller drums (*tutu*), beaten on the floor of the dance area, accompanied the great ones, the large ones being beaten in a slow rhythm, the small ones more rapidly. Melville describes (23, p. 198) the way in which one drummer would relieve the other without allowing the rhythm to be interrupted. The accompaniment of the drum consisted not only in the beating (*pahu patu*) of the head, but in tapping or slapping the sides (*pahu titii*) of the body. *Umi* or *pahu peiei* or *teve* (8) were drums smaller than the *tutu*, used also to accompany chants.

MOUTH FLUTE

The bamboo mouth flute was called *ki* on Hiva Oa and *pu hakahau* on Ua Pou. Such flutes had from three to five holes. One with five holes was obtained from Ua Pou—but it was said that no more than four holes were ever used in playing. The end of the bamboo that was inserted in the mouth was left closed by the natural joint of the stem. Just beyond this joint a sliver about an inch and a half long was cut, being left attached to the bamboo pipe at its extremity. Under this end, where the sliver was attached, a human hair was inserted so that the sliver was elevated very slightly. The lips being placed beyond this point of attachment, the sliver served as a vibrating reed producing the tone of the instrument when the breath was caused to pass it very gently. The tone of the *pu hakahau* is very soft and subdued. It was a man's instrument. Its use with the songs called *eu'u* is described in connection with these songs. (See Honorific Chants.) A mouth flute of the same type (see fig. 29, *b*), with three holes, was called *vivo* on Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) gives as other names of mouth flutes *ivitahi, ĭa pianamai, ĭa pi veuveu.*

NOSE FLUTE

The nose flute (*ki kohe puru, pu ihu*) was made of a larger bamboo than the mouth flute and emitted a less plaintive tone. The bamboo was closed at one end as is described above, and near this end was burned a hole. The flute being held projecting to one side, one nostril was placed over this hole while the other was closed with a finger of the hand that supported the flute at its lower end. The fingers of the other hand played on the several holes that were burned in the pipe near the farther extremity. Both men and women played on this instrument, but it was

534 particularly the instrument used in love-making by young men. It is
said that those who knew the art of playing this instrument could talk
534 through its tones. A girl's lover would go behind her house at night
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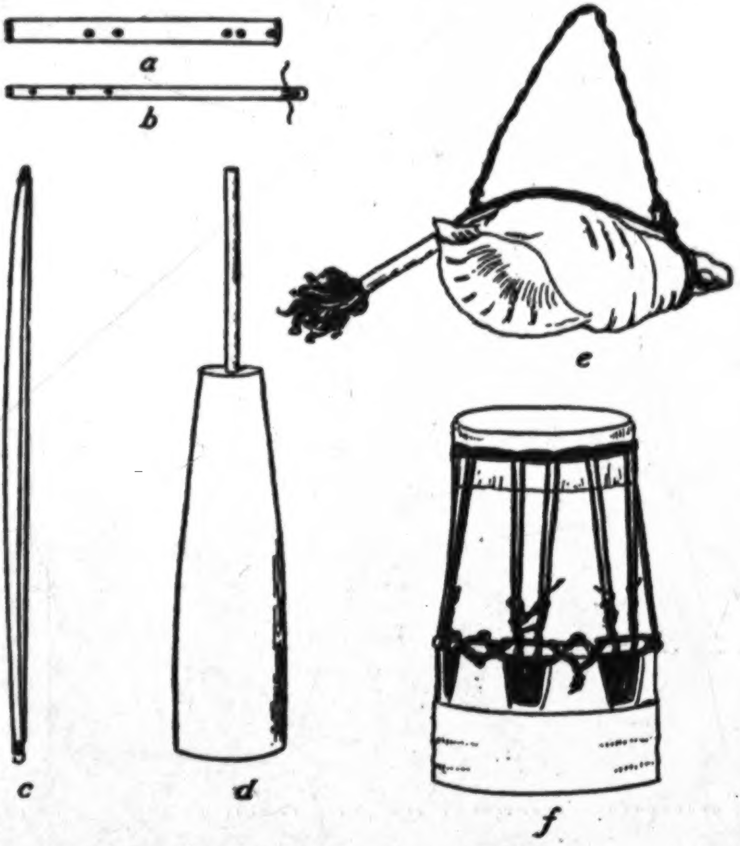

FIGURE 29.—Musical instruments: *a*, nose flute; *b*, mouth flute; *c*, musical bow; *d*, trumpet made of wood; *e*, shell trumpet; *f*, drum.

and thus talk to her as she lay on the family bed space, luring her to come out to him—and it was not only unmarried girls that were "talked to" in this way! The nose flute was the instrument of the Marquesas islander's most subtle mode of love making. (See fig. 29, *a*.)

OTHER SMALL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The xylophone (*pahu kouhau*) used on Nuku Hiva consisted of two small sticks, serving as supports, to which were attached ten cross pieces of *fau* wood of different *lengths*. Two small sticks held in the hands served for tapping the cross pieces. How or when the xylophone was played was not ascertained. The ten cross pieces would indicate a range of ten notes or intervals (not necessarily whole tones, of course—four notes is the greatest range of any chant recorded. Garcia (p. 188) speaks of "a kind of harmonica . . . composed of two or three pieces of dry wood, which they place across their knees and which they strike rhythmically with a little stick."

A native jew's harp (*tita'a kohe*), which appears to be indigenous, was made with a flat piece of bamboo in one end of which a slit had been cut. Over this slit a sliver of bamboo was held with the fingers as the instrument was being played, held pressed against the lips with one hand while the fingers of the other strummed the sliver.

The conch shell (*putona*) served as a trumpet for the chiefs and priests. With it the chief summoned his warriors and his workers, announced his arrival in a canoe, the birth of a male heir, or the like. The priests made use of the conch at the temple in the same way. Strings of red and of white bark cloth and of sennit cord were attached to the trumpets to carry them, and human hair decorated them. The mouthpiece consisted of a candlenut through which a hole had been made, glued with breadfruit sap on the hole or on the apex of the shell; or a longer mouthpiece of bamboo was attached with sennit cords. It is said that the conch shell (Putona) was the wife of the shark (Mano). These trumpets were *tapu*. (See fig. 29, *e*.) According to Marchand (22, p. 138) nearly the same sound as that produced by the conch shell was obtained in another instrument described as a piece of bamboo to which was fastened another smaller piece of bamboo at an acute angle.

Another type of trumpet was made of a hollowed piece of wood about two feet long and eight inches in diameter narrowing to a small hole at one end, to which was attached a large bamboo a foot or more long that served as a mouth piece. This trumpet was used in canoes. (See fig. 29, *d*.)

The musical bow (*utete*) was played by women. It was made of *mi'o* wood and was from a yard to a yard and a half long. It had only one small cord of plaited sennit, which was attached to the extremities of the bow through holes—the spring of the bow held the string taut. One end of the instrument was held in the mouth, the other end, extending out to the side, being held by the left hand. The string was plucked with the right hand. (See fig. 29, *c*.)

CHANTING

533 Most of the chanting was done in groups, sometimes mixed, or sometimes entirely of one or the other sex—in other words, the native's chanting, like everything else he did, was communal. The only individual singing of which I know, aside from occasional solo parts by leaders of group singing, was the chanting of personal spells and that done by the ceremonial priest upon those occasions when he intoned the sacred chants alone. Stewart (26, p. 235) speaks of solos and duets in a way, however, which indicates that they were merely incidental in the choral singing.

To what extent part singing, or harmonization, as distinguished from singing in unison, was developed is uncertain. It is hoped that more information on this subject may be obtained in the future. I feel sure, however, that there was in intentional harmonization of a rudimentary type in one of the songs that was recorded. (See Chants.)

In the native system three voices are distinguished: *a'o*, deep; *vavena*, medium; and *mauna*, high. Registers between these are designated descriptively as *mauna o te eo i vavena*, just above the medium voice; and *mauna a'e*, very high. There were these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Every chant had its established pitch, which was determined by the mood. Thus the *pu'e*, or chant of the creation of the land, was intoned *i a'o oa*, in very deep bass; while the graceful *pipine* for the young maiden was sung in a high register. This furnishes one of many indications of artistic sensibility that are to be found in the native music.

Pitch was one of the three elements by means of which variety appropriate to the mood of the chant was attained. The other two elements were melody and rhythm. It is striking that among the songs, the melodies of which were recorded, the one that exhibits the most melodic range and expression is the *pipine*, a song tribute to a young girl, the whole spirit of which is light and graceful; while the chant which shows the most marked dynamic effect, combined with the least melodic expression—being intoned all on one note—is the *pehi*, composed and sung in honor of a young man, a song the very essence of which is its virility and directness. The creation chant already mentioned was intoned in a very deep bass entirely on two tones, but is characterized particularly by very strong, steady rhythm with sustained notes and pauses. Like all chanting and recitative, the rhythm is not fixed but accommodates itself to the words of the chant. Councilor Tilesius, who was with Krusenstern, described certain chants that he heard. Tilesius is quoted by Langsdorf (18, p. 164) as follows:

> The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

Garcia (14, pp. 64-65) testifies to the impressiveness of such chants in these words:

> The most serious member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed or which he composes at the moment. It often consists in only two or three words repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or thee vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert, but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a fete of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The fact that the *pehi* was sung entirely on one note has already been mentioned. The greatest range that was found for any one song was a major fourth. The entervals of the native music cannot be recorded on the European scale, since we find not only whole and half but also a quarter and three-quarter tone intervals in some songs. The minor third seems to be a favorite interval. Characteristic of some songs is a long trailing descent of the voice at the end of the song. Further notes on the nature of melodies recorded and mode of singing will be found in the description of particular chants.[18]

The great choral chants were usually accompanied by drums, both large and small. Many were, however, sung with no drum beating. Hand clapping furnished a second element of accompaniment. Of this there were two kinds distinguished: *pu*, clapping with hollowed palms, giving a deep sound; and *papaki*, clapping with flattened palms. A sound called *poko*, more hollow and louder than that given by striking together the hollowed palms, was produced by holding the left arm crooked against the body and striking upon the hollow between the elbow pit and the body with the right hand hollowed. One type of song, *komumu*, was accompanied always by the tapping of small sticks, and another (the *ru'u*) was sung sometimes to the playing of the flute. Many chants were sung with no accompaniment whatever.

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[18] A translation of the text of these chants with a study of the melodies is in preparation.

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538 In the following studies of particular chants it will be seen that some were and some were not accompanied by dancing or pantomimic accompaniment. Early writers describe dancing and singing as sometimes alternating. (See 26, pp. 235-237.)

Only the most superficial account of the content of these chants can be given. Although they were studied with informants who gave all the assistance their limited knowledge made possible, it will require much time to make any approach to a clear translation. The text of the chants was copied by me from an original manuscript in the possession of Tahia-ti-'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u (Pl. 11, *F*), who had written this original from the dictation of her grandfather, Pihua, the last *tuhuna o'ono* of Pua Ma'u. The old man was desirous that his granddaughter, who had learned to write at the Catholic mission school, should preserve his learning, which he, no doubt, knew would vanish with the rest of the customs and lore of his people. This woman and her husband, Peohai, who had also been taught by the old *tuhuna*, still know much of the meaning of the chants, but have also forgotten much. When anyone dies in the valley, Peohai still chants the funerary chants which were among those written in the book.

The Pua Ma'u story of the origin of the *pu'e* and *vavana* chants is as follows: Two fish, the *aku* and the *kokoama*, came up the stream that empties into Taha Uku bay and taught both chants to two ancient *tuhuna*, Manatu and Pupuke, who lived at Vevau. Thus it was that Manatu and Pupuke came to be the patrons of the *pu'e* and *vavana*. It seems that it was the *kokoama* that taught both chants—it is not clear what part the *aku* played. This story of the origin of the chants explains the practice of securing an *aku* and a *kokoama* before the *ko'ino vavana*. (See Creation Chants.) The fish were taken up to the chief's *tapu* bathing place in Pua Ma'u and there kept during the rite, being surrounded by a little picket fence. When the rite was finished the *aku* was eaten, while the *kokoama* was allowed to return to the sea, being left to make its own way back by way of the stream.

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796 Great chanting festivals, at which the sacred chants described below, were intoned with accompanying rites, were celebrated for various purposes by family groups, or in the case of chief's families, by the tribe. The occasions for such festivals were a newly completed canoe or house, the completion of the instruction of a son or daughter in these chants, or the arrival of a first-born heir. Such festivals, the central feature of which was the chanting of the creation chants, *vavana* and *pu'e*, were known as *ko'ina vavana, ko'ina pu'e*. For the rite two special houses

were erected, one in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women 538
together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the 796
tapu chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration
of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in
preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies.
The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of
the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony
was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu*
chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment,
after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vavana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the
mata (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common
(not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting
there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain
ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details
of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man
who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vavana* were celebrated
at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation
of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling [202]
them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their
sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The
messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The
festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high [184]
voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa.*) (In this description
it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the
women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence
obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the
pu'e and *vavana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.)
The house in which all the members of the family had gathered
together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division
was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree
trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this
woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her
recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for [276]
a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It
was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side
of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute
silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a
certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some
branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy
of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

538 786 again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

538 861 When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e, tona pou,* and others to be mentioned were *tapu,* restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu*. While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When [202] the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which 538
constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, 869
and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green
coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut [202]
leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called
pa'e putea, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the
forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born
child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be
seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster
shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with
eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental [778]
somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which
was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*,
in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to
women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and
women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built
and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called 346
a number of names according to its use: *tona pou, fa'e pou, fa'e pu'e,* 538
faia'u or *feiahu, oho au no motuhaiki,* and *ohu au no ihi,* all these terms 869
except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having
reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place
(probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden
staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the com-
mon dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched
rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus [184]
said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other in-
formants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house
was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts
of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my [823]
belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact
that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

346 rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called
538 *ahu* (pile or mound).

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The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu, consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

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The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *opini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tau enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same. 346 538 369

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned. [823 778]

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vavana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a large house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pae'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ke'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house. 538 869 789 [262]

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21] [773]

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[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

THE CREATION CHANTS

The Pu'e

539 The chants will be discussed in the order in which they were recited in the rites described above. The most important were the *pu'e* and the *vavana*. Every tribe had its own rendition of these sacred chants. First in the rites in which both were chanted came the *pu'e no One u'i*. *Pu'e* means to grow, *one*, means sand, *u'i* signifies dark color. *One* has many other epithets besides *u'i*, as *One-tapu* (sacred *One*), *One-toto*, (blood-red *One*). According to my informants in Pua Ma'u the teaching of this was restricted to boys. One part of it—the first section—however, is labeled specifically, "for a girl," and other parts are marked, "for boy and girl." It recounted the impregnation of One-u'i (said by my informants to mean red-earth or dark-sand) by Atea, the subsequent growth of ancient lands, and the growth of trees. In the second section, recited for a boy only, Atea is urged to impregnate One-u'i and thereby to cause the birth of a number of kinds of trees the wood of which was associated with masculine activities—for example, casuarina, *temanu*, and the sacred banyan, the first being used for weapons, the second for war and fishing canoes, and the bark of the last named for the sacred loin cloth of the male first-born. The third section of the *pu'e no One-u'i* was recited for a girl child. In it Atea is called upon to impregnate One-u'i to bring about the birth of certain kinds of growing things used for beautifying women—the pandanus, seeds of which were used for necklaces, the *tia'e* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*), and various other mountain bushes and plants. After this the names of the mothers of various other kinds of trees are mentioned. (Compare with this the genealogy of trees, under Genealogy.)

Another and longer *pu'e no One-u'i* was secured from an Atu Ona informant, Ha-apuane (Pl. II, *A*), who had learned it from his wife's uncle, a *tuhuna o'ono*. The conceptions upon which this chant is based are just the same as those of the Pua Ma'u chant, but the form and content is quite different. This chant was for the consecration of a new house, rather than for a boy or girl. The comparison of the two makes it evident that the first section of these chants represents a constant element that was recited for all occasions, while the latter part was varied according to the purpose of the recitation.

Pu'e were recited for many purposes other than the consecration of a child—for example, in connection with adoption, the building and consecration of new houses or canoes, fishing expeditions, and such like. The first section, which was constant, recounts the basic stages of the

growth of the world; subsequent sections, which were appended to this, 539
are made up of elements apposite to the matter in hand. Thus in the *pu'e* for the boy and girl from Pua Ma'u the later sections have to do with the birth of trees and other things that furnish the materials required for the practical and aesthetic use of the boy and girl. The *pu'e* from Atu Ona begins with the marriage of great root stocks (*to'o* and *aka*) at the foundation of things, later bringing in Atea and One-u'i. After this first part, relating to creation in its earlier stages, the mothers of various kinds of materials, such as wood, stone, or earth, used in house construction, are called upon to furnish their share toward the building of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea and ancestress of all men.

Toward the end of the Atu Ona *pu'e* various kinds of fish in the sea are mentioned as women (wives of Atea?.) As there seems no possible connection here with house building, I am inclined to think that this was a section used in connection with the fishing rites. My informant knew nothing about the significance of this part.

When used in connection with industry the *pu'e* was chanted by the 539
ceremonial priest alone. In the family rites it appears to have been 533
chanted by a priest or old man alone. But at the festivals it was intoned by old men (*tuhuna*) in a very deep voice, the chorus accompanying their singing with hand clapping. Four great drums (*pahu anaana*) and many small ones (*tutu*) accompanied the singers. The melody of the Atu Ona chant, which is subsequently to be published, is entirely on two notes, the interval between them being a tone and a quarter. There are changes of time in different sections, and the rhythm is irregular, accommodating itself to the words. The most marked characteristic of the melody is the way in which the last two notes ending each line are sustained.

A few excerpts from one of the *pu'e* are given below. The *pu'e na* 539
One-u'i from Atu Ona begins in a deep bass in a very slow rhythm, accompanied by drums and hand clapping:

Tuia oa te to'o e
Were united long ago the root-stocks, ah!
Auea e, e to'o o te fenua
Ah, yes, they are root-stocks of the land.

So it proceeds with repetition of all but the last phrase of the first line, "root-stock (*to'o*) of the land," for which is substituted, "root (*aka*) of the land," "firmness (*mau*) of the land," "masters (*hei*) of the land," and "bond (*pona*) of the land."

The chant then proceeds with a more rapid rhythm:

Tuia te fatu nananana
United (mated) the attachments, quickly—quickly!

Tumu o te fenua
Source of the land.

O te ui Atea
Is the question [of] Atea [Atea asks],

"One-ui, e!
One-ui (Dark-Sand), oh!

Pehea te to'o o te fenua?"
How the root-stocks (slow growth) of the land?

Peau One-ui,
Says One-ui,

"Ena e i a'o
There — down below

Fenua me ahi take
Country with fire bottom

Aina mea o nuku
Land thing is very deep

Fenua me neke iho, e
Country with out-growing-this way, ah!

Aina me neke ae"
Land with spreading-that way.

(Translation)

United were the attachments
In the earth's foundation.
Atea asks,
"O One-ui (Dark-sand, or Red-soil),
After what manner was the growth of the root-stocks
of the land?"
One-ui replies,
"There is down below,
A region with a firey bottom
A land very deep down,
A country spreading this way and that."

Afterwards follow many verses made up of references to growth of the land repeated with many meaningless rhythmical phrases, such as:

He to'o, he to'o, hakahauhau
The growing, the growing, (to cause to rise)

E to'o ta One-ui, hakahauhau
It is the growing of One-ui. . . . .

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. . . .
. . . .
Hakahauhau, ino[30] te to'o a One-ui, hakahauhau
. . . . . (?) the growing of One-ui, ...

After almost interminable repetition on this theme comes the account of the sending of messengers to the personification of materials to be used in a new house:

Keee	tahito	Tapana	nei,	e ui
Came as a messenger	in ancient times	Tapana	this way,	is question

Ui	e'a	oa,	ui	e'a poto
Question	there	long,	question	there short

"I	tikina	mai au	ia	oe,
Have	come up	here I		to you,

Te	tama	o	Hopu,
The	child	of	(mother of soil)

Ehee	taua	i	tai
To go	we two	towards	the sea

Moia	oe	mea	hoahoa	fa'e o Atanua"
In order that	you	thing	earth leveling the platform	house of Atanua.

(Translation)

Anciently Tapana came this way as a messenger,
Questoned long and questioned short,
"I have come up hither to you,
The child of Hopu, Mother-of-soil,
Let us go down shoreward together,
So that you may fill and level the platform of Atanua's house."

Then recur the repeated rhythmical phrases, combined with references to the growth (*to'o*), before the next material is summoned in another verse. (See Housebuilding.)

On Ua Pou the *pu'e* was called *koua'ehi*. The *tuhuna* who chanted it held a flower or branch of the coconut tree (*koua'ehi*) in his hand as he chanted (*tapatapa*). The chant was used for the same purposes as in Hiva Oa—namely, for consecrating children, new houses, canoes, and so on.

Next after the chanting of the *pu'e* for the boy at Pua Ma'u, followed several other sacred chants which had to do with the erection

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[30] *Ino* is probably *i una o*, on top of.

539 of the boy's sacred staging, the making of his adz and of the canoe that was to be made with adz.

THE TONA-POU CHANT

The first of these chants was called simply *tona pou,* which when translated seems to mean simply "his post." This chant was for the sacred house elevated on a staging (*fata'a, tona pou*) for the boy. The object of the chant is evidently to free the structure from evil influences and to bring the good influences potent to aid in the rite. What connection the chant may have with the post outside the house, on which the spirits of ancient priests came to rest, is not apparent. I infer that the *fata'a* consecrated at this rite was that which would in future serve the boy as his *tapu* eating house and store house. (See The Family.)

The chant following this was called *tona pou no Pohu.* In the first part of it the forehead, eyes, mouth, and other features of the youth are mentioned—with what significance I was unable to ascertain. The rest of the chant has to do with house furnishings and the altar with its decoration. A short chant called *oho-au no ihi* follows, recounting the catching of certain fish, doubtless those used in connection with the rite.

539 396 Lastly comes a longer and most interesting chant, called *oho-au no Motuaiki* (work-house of Motuhaiki). Motuhaiki was an ancient master canoe builder. The first part of this chant describes the making of the rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun when he desired to have more time to finish his work. Then Motuhaiki and Hope'outo'i, another canoe maker and patron of carpentry, are referred to in connection with the making of the new adz for the boy, the piece of stone from which the adz was made being a chip off the block (*fatu*) described above, which is also mentioned. The chant describes the stages of making the adz head and lashing it to its handle. Then it proceeds to the successive stages of the manufacture of the canoe and its parts. This section of the chant was undoubtedly that which followed the recitation of the *pu'e* when that chant was used in connection with canoe making.

539 After this part, which has reference to canoe making, there follow others having to do with the making of a loin cloth, robe, headdress, and necklace for the boy (evidently those worn ceremonially in connection with the rite); then a section descriptive of the building of a temporary shelter (*oho-au*) for the boy to sleep in, the erection of fau poles (*koufau*) as a sign of the *tapu;* the erection of a shrine; and lastly, the preparation of food, the eating of which completed the boy's rite.

THE VAVANA CHANT

These sacred chants were intoned by the men in the boy's sacred house in the afternoon. In the night after a feast the men went into the *fa'e papa* and continued with the women, chanting the *vavana*. The *vavana* was intoned in a slow rhythm accompanied by clapping of the hands. The words recapitulate the conception, birth, growth, and so on of the child, linking these with the mythical birth of the gods from the level above (*papa una*) and the level below (*papa a'o*). (See Genealogy.) In subsequent sections the chants refers to the making of ornaments, weapons,, and utensils for the child, to his canoe, to his sacred house, and to various practices such as bathing, making cloth, etc., connected with it, and so on, connecting all with mythological references to gods and ancient lands. In parts various gods are summoned to assist in the rite. The chant is very long, containing more then ten thousand words. There is much repetition of phrases—some of them meaningless, somewhat like refrains, as described in the *pu'e*. Throughout there is a mingling of narrative referring to incidents connected with the child, mythological references, and these meaningless phrases. A few excerpts from the Pua Ma'u *vavana* follow.

The *vavana* begins:

E hau e, i e'a e; e take to papa una,
(Meaningless) is bottom of level above

E hau e, i e'a e; e tohu'i to papa a'o.
(Meaningless) is overturning of level below.

(Translation)

Above is the bottom of the level above;
Below, the turning movement of the level below.

The next verse continues:

U to'o a, u tuia
Are held —, are mated

U vavana mai to u take
Are held fast to this time of me depths
in memory

U pipi'i, u momoa
Are approaching, are sleeping together.

They take hold, are mated
Conception firm-held in my depths
They approach, they sleep together.

539 And so on, mentioning the stages of impregnation, conception, gestation, labor, delivery, and so on, of the female and child.

The reference to the level above and the level below is repeated. Then:

E take fanau tama, e
Oh basic depths bearing child, ah!

O Atea mai, to u tama
Is Atea come, of me child,

O Tane mai, he teina
Is Tane come, the younger brother,

Is Tonofiti, o Moepo
Is Tonofiti, is Moepo.

(Translation)

O child-bearing depths!
Atea comes—my child,
Tane, the younger, comes forth
And Tonofiti, Moepo, etc.

And so on, with the names of the other "original gods" who emerged from between the level above and the level below.

In the Lawson manuscript is a very free translation of a *vavana* chant. This, so far as detail goes, is patently untrustworthy, but it is evident that it is an actual translation of a genuine *vavana* from another valley on Hiva Oa. It is of interest because it shows that this *vavana* was composed on the same general plan as was that discussed above. Lawson's translation is just close enough to the literal to prove that the content of the chant was practical the same.

What is called *Te Vanana na Tana-oa*, which Fornander published in his Polynesian Race (II, vol. I, pp. 214, ff.), I feel to be certainly a fictitious fabrication of a European mind. I suppose it to have come to Fornander from Lawson, who, it appears, must have known (through correspondence, no doubt) of Fornander's ideas regarding the Hawaiian Kanaloa as a "fallen angel." This so-called *vanana* is built around the idea of Atea as a "God of Light" and Tanaoa as a "Prince of Darkness" who was cast out. The chant is as follows:

Born is his (Atea's) first son, his princely son.
O the great prince, oh, the sacred superior,
O the princely son, first born of divine power!

O the son, equal with the father and with Ono ("Spirit")
Joined are they three in the same power,
The Father, Ono, and the Son.

These English lines are a literal translation of the Marquesan lines which accompany them. It is obvious to one acquainted with the idiom

539 of native chants and the native religious thought that the original translation of this so-called *vavana* was from the English into Marquesan and not the other way.

The regular versification and poetic form are obviously not Marquesan but European. The idiom and content of the thought is likewise patently European, as is illustrated in the lines: "The two the same glory. "Atea the body, Ono the Spirit." "O wondrous thrones, whereon to seat the great Lord Atea." "O thrones whereon to seat the Lord of love."

539 789 The study of the sacred chants given above brings out most interestingly the nature of the Marquesan philosophy and its application to life and its activities. The chants really amount to elaborated causative spells. These spells recapitulate the birth, rearing, and growth of the child, the making of his ornaments, weapons, sacred house, adz, canoe, and so on, coupling all the processes with appropriate mythological references and serving to consecrate the child and the things. Thus in the *vavana* the stages of birth and subsequent phases of the child's life are coupled with the emergence of the first gods from the elevel above and the level below and subsequent incidents. In the chant called *oho-ou no Motuhaiki*, the making of the boy's canoe is coupled with the same work done by Motuhaiki, patron of canoe building, in ancient times. In the *pu'e* recited for the house the materials used for construction are referred to in association with their origin as children born by Atea by different mothers and are connected with the earliest stages of the world's growth. Thus in each chant the process and the new product of man's handicraft are coupled with the original processes and objects of generative creation.

THE TI'E-MATA AND FAUFAU-OA

539 852 The *ti'e-mata* was a sacred chant sung for the first-born at the same feast at which the *vavana* and other sacred chants were intoned in his honor. It was sung after the *vavana* and the *pu'e*. The subject matter of the chant is for the most part the same as that of the *pu'e* and the *vavana*, being made up almost entirely of mythological description and reference.

Also sung at the festival for the sacred first-born, of which the *vavana* and the *pu'e* were the main features, was another chant called the *faufau-oa*. The context, which is all with references to occurrences in the ancient lands, gives no evidence as to the object or purpose of the chant except that it is the chant of a certain girl whose name is mentioned. It was probably composed in her honor. In an account of a family chanting feast, given by another informant, it was said that the singing was begun by a woman's chanting the *faufau-oa*.

OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

539 The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama*, the *pu'e*, or generation 852 chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was [778] chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e*, although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take*, or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and [533] common *pope*. During the singing the arms and shoulders swung slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the 539
trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic. 852

FUNERARY CHANTS

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a 539
death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be pub- 764
lished. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*.

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed 539
in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected 765
at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is
spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men 533
and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i*; the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u*; and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*).

THE UTA CHANT

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon 539
occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families

539 from generation to generation, the names being changed to apply upon different occasions. They were chanted at the time of the death of a relative and at the memorial festivals. Immediately after a death, when relatives were coming to the house to pay their respects, each would chant his *uta*. These sacred *uta* were sung by choruses at the memorial festivals, the singers being seated and accompanying their chanting with hand clapping, but with no body motion. It was very unfortunate that I was unable to find anyone who knew the melody of an *uta*, although texts of this type of song were more easily obtained than any other. Great festivals spoken of as *uta nui* were apparently the same as the memorial feasts. At such feasts the *uta* were accompanied by three small drums (*umi or putu*), three great drums (*pahu me'ae*), and three *pahu pepe'e* (?).

539 556 The composition and singing of the simpler laudatory *uta* was described as follows by an informant at Atu Ona. *Uta* and *rari* were prepared and sung together on these occasions. According to this informant the *uta* was in honor of old people and the *rari* in honor of young girls. When it had been decided to have a combined *ko'ina rari* and *ko'ina uta,* the maternal uncles of the girl for whom the *rari* was to be composed sought out youths and had them to build a house (*oho-au*) in which the song would be rehearsed. This house was made near the dwelling of the girl and was a small shed open in front. The youths who collected the materials and erected the house were fed by the family for whom they worked. This was their only payment. Work could be done on the house only at night. The *oho-au rari* was not *tapu*. The *tuhuna* who was employed to compose and teach the *uta* and *rari* did his work of composing at home and used the *oho-au* merely for rehearsing his choruses, the *uta* being taught to a group of old men and women, and the *rari* to a group of youths and maids. Doubtless it was the same group of male *ka'ioi* who erected the *oho-au* that sang in the chorus. Both the *rari* and the *uta* were in honor of the girl. When the songs had been well learned in the *oho-au* a feast was celebrated on the tribal feast place, the feast being to "show the *oho-au* (sacred house) of the girl," that is, exhibit the house and songs that had been prepared in her honor. A long time was necessary for the preparation of food for the feast. All comers had to bring their contributions. First the genealogy or genealogies of the family or families who were honoring their daughters were chanted; next the *uta* were sung by the old people; and lastly, the *rari* were intoned by the groups of youths and maidens. There was no dancing. The festival ended with a feast. Such a feast was celebrated in honor of a girl at some time after her adolescence, but was not directly connected with this event in her life.

THE NATO CHANT

The *nato* was a type of song composed by *tuhuna nato* upon the occasion of great festivals. Informants differ as to whether or not this chant was *tapu*. The fact that it was used at such sacred festivals as the *ko'ina tupapa'u* and that it was sung by the old men (*tuhuna*) would indicate that it was sacred. On the other hand the words and content of the example obtained in no way suggest any sacred significance. It is said that the first *nato*, after which all subsequent ones have been modeled, was composed in the valley of Vevau long ago by a great *tuhuna* named Taitihu. *Nato*, of which a number would be sung at a single fête, were learned in advance by the choir of old men (*tuhuna*) who intoned them, and were sung at the opening of the festival. The examples I have simply recounts a story evidently based on incidents that occurred in connection with some festival. Drums accompanied the chant. and the old men clapped as they sang. The melody is unusual in that there are three changes in tempo in different parts of the chant. The whole chant was intoned on only two notes except for quavers and the last line. A quaver preceding a descent to the note next below is characteristic of the melody. The last line was sung or cried in a very high voice with a sudden trailing descent on the final syllable of each of the last three words.

WAR CHANTS

The *ha'iha'i-heana* was the sacred chant that was intoned by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifice was offered at the tribal temple. The chant couples mythical reference with details of the securing and sacrificing of the human victim.

According to Père Pierre (4) two chants called *puko toua* and *pa'e vii toua* were sung before war. What was the nature of these is unknown. A chant called *kouaka*, sung at the sacred place as a part of the pre-war rites, is described in connection with war. (See War.) It does not appear that warriors sang or chanted as they entered battle.

HONORIFIC CHANTS

THE RARI AND RU'U CHANTS

Almost the only type of genuine Marquesan song that is sung today by the natives is that known in the southern section of the group as the *rari* and *nani*, in the northern as *ru'u*. These were sung for amusement by young men and women together. They were composed by *tuhuna* in preparation for feasts and festivals, working in a special house built for the purpose; and, like other chants, they were taught to the singers

539 in the special house by the *tuhuna*. *Rari* were always in honor of girls. Festivals called *ko'ina rari* were sometimes celebrated for the especial purpose of singing *rari*.

There seems to have been a wide leeway for the subject matter that
533 was considered appropriate for these songs. Some, like the *putu* and
539 the *pipine*, were composed in honor of some person; the words of others were based on tradition; still others were love songs like those called *uta*. The characteristic feature of the *rari* and *ru'u* seems to be the mode of performance and the music. The young men and women who sang the *rari* or *ru'u* were ranged in parallel rows, the women in between the rows of men and all facing in one direction, the men forming two rows
516 on either side facing inward toward the women and each other. Anciently, it is said, the performers always stood, but nowadays they were seated. The song was directed by a leader (*kahua*), either a man or a woman, who began the song by singing the first line, whereupon it was taken up by the rest of the singers. At occasional points in the song the *kahua* would sustain the melody alone for a moment, furnishing contrast to the group singing. The women, as they sang, performed a continued conventional pantomime illustrative of the words of the song, swinging the body, bowing, and making slow, graceful movements and gestures with the hands. In the *rari* the men took no part in this pantomime but sat still. In one of the examples I have the women carried the melody, the men following, but in the other the order was reversed. The singing is mostly in unison, but with frequent intentional harmonization. Since the limit of the range of the melody is four whole tones it is obvious that this harmonization is necessarily close, the intervals being fourths, thirds, seconds, and sometimes apparently less. That the harmonization is intentional and prescribed, and not accidental was proved conclusively by repeated singing of the song recorded. It is my belief that this part singing is ancient. One example has two parts, a men's and a women's, with the occasional harmonization of which I speak. I was told on Ua Huka, where this song was recorded, that there were sometimes three separate women's parts in addition to the men's part. It would appear that the men's voices never carried more than one part. Characteristic of the *rari* and *ru'u* is the steady, unvarying 2:2 time. No drums or even hand clapping accompanying these songs.

On Ua Pou it was said that *ru'u* were performed sometimes by four men playing the mouth flute (*pu hakahau*) while two women sang and performed their pantomimic motions. Some *ru'u* on Ua Pou were composed especially to be performed on the flute and were frequently rendered on the instrument alone. This fact is exceedingly interesting for this

533

reason: the *pu kakahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of 538 the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by [534] two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women [208] in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

THE TAPE'A CHANT

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and 539 women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other [521] words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

THE PIPINE CHAT

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding 539 to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) 576 near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first [533] line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papahi*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

539 A type of song called the *viti*, of which a number of texts were obtained at Pua Ma'u, said there to have been sung in the *tona-pou* rite along with *uta*, is, according to an Atu Ona man who had lived in Pua Ma'u, the same as the *pipine*.

The Putu Chant

539 The *putu* was a eulogistic song composed and chanted in honor of a
youth. Such a compliment would be paid by the young man's father,
576 other relatives, or friends. In case they were relatives or friends who
lived in another valley, who desired to bestow the honor, they prepared
the *putu*, and then sent a message to the father of the youth saying that
they were coming to sing in honor of his son. A message was sent back
inviting the party bringing the *putu* to come on a certain day, when a
feast would be prepared for them. On this day they would come bring-
[201] ing with them one or two small crabs (*toetoe*), which were hung from
the neck of the boy. This token or symbol was called *ahe-onava*. As to
what was the meaning of this practice I could gain no inkling.

Preparation of the *putu* consisted in the employment of a *tuhuna putu*, who composed the song for the occasion; the erection of an *oho-au*, or temporary *tapu* house, in which the *tuhuna* taught the singers the chant, and trained them.

The men who composed the chorus arranged themselves in orderly concentric circles, the old men (*tuhuna*) standing in the inner part, the younger men in the outer rows. The *tuhuna putu* stood in the center of the circle, prompting a man with a very loud voice who stood opposite him, who took the part of the actual leader (*kahua*). Women took no part in singing either the *putu*, or of the *pehi* which was the refrain which followed it.

There were sacred and common, or free, *putu*. The former was always sung before dawn in front of the dwelling of the youth in whose honor it had been composed. The other *putu me'ie* were sung later on the feast place (*tohua*) as a part of the *ko'ina putu*. The informant who gave me the above information told me that the preparations for a *ko'ina putu* consisted in the building of a special house (*oho-au*) for the instruction of a chorus of about sixty youths who were to sing at the feast and in the preparation of food for the general feast by the relatives of the youths for whom the songs were composed—for the *ko'ina putu* was in honor of many youths. On these occasions the singing was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*), clapping, and the *haka pahaka* dance. By another informant I was told that the *putu* was sung for the sacred house in which the youths were tattooed (*oho-au patu-tiki*) and that *putu* were

sung also at the *ko'ina patu-tiki* which celebrated the completion of the 539
tattooing. 576

The words of the example of a *putu* which was worked out with my
informant praise the youth or youths for whom the song was composed. 533
The melody is all on one note except at the end where it rises one tone 539
to the last note and from that goes down in a trailing descent. One most 576
interesting feature is the fact that while the singing was apparently in unison the chorus was divided in parts or groups. In the song there is one line that is repeated three times, being sung first by the old man (*tuhuna*) in the middle, next by the men standing midway in the circular formation, and lastly by the young men who formed the outer margin of the circular chorus, the first group singing in a deep voice, the next in a medium voice, and the third in a higher pitch. At other times all sang together.

THE PEHI CHANT

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu*, being actually a sort of refrain to that song. Two *putu* were sung, then after a pause and a rest of about five minutes the *pehi* was begun. In the singing of the *pehi* the men sat (or stood?) in rows forming two or three lines, their bodies being swung from side to side, each line swinging in unison, alternate lines in opposite directions. Accompanying the swaying of the body, the arms and hands were thrust out sideways in the direction opposite to that in which the body was swung. Mimetic gestures were also made, interpretive of the words of the song, which mocked the parents of the boy for whom the *putu* had been prepared. The *putu* glorified the youth and his family; the *pehi* furnished a dramatic contrast by a humorous mockery of the parents.

The *ta'a'au*, or crier, standing in the midst of the singers, began the *pehi* by chanting in a monotone in a very high voice, allowing his voice gradually to descend on the last syllable of his introductory line. Then, led by the *kahua*, all took up the chant, without accompaniment of clapping or drums. This chart is characterized by short lines and an abrupt, masculine melody. A note is sustained on the end of each line, except in two lines that are cut short, and there is a trailing descent on the closing note of the melody. The contrast is masculinity and femininity in the quality of the melody, between the *pehi*, sung for the youth, and the *pepine*, for the girl, is very striking and revelatory of the subtlety of the native artistic sensibility.

PU'UKEHA, AND I'I

539 The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar in purpose to the *putu* and the
576 *pipine*, but composed and sung in honor of a person's mother.

The *i'i* was sung in honor of a chiefess. When a chiefess in a valley would announce that she was about to celebrate a *ko'ina ii*, all the people from other valleys who came to the feast were expected to come prepared to sing the *i'i* in honor of the giver of the feast and to bring flowers and other offerings.

THE KOMUMU CHANT

539 Characteristic of the *komumu*, or *mumu*, another chant that was sung
534 at festivals by choruses of men and women together, was its accompaniment—a tapping with small sticks. This chant was not *tapu*. The natives of Atu Ona said that it was sung by young men and women, but on Nuku Hiva a good informant said that it was the old people who sang it. According to Dordillon (8) the *mumu* was a song of the *ka'ioi*. The singers, seated on the dance area, were directed by a man called *fatieka*, who stood in the midst of them. Three sizes of sticks were used to accompany the *komumu*. The largest was hollowed out on the under side midway between the ends, but the others were merely peeled sticks. The hollowed place on the larger sticks was held with the palm curved under it so that it made a deep reverberating sound when tapped. The first *komumu* is supposed to have been composed by two ogresses (*vehine hae*). Dordillon (8) gives *papaki akau*, meaning to beat a cadence on two pieces of wood, and *pahu kouhau*, to beat a cadence on three pieces of wood.

[576] The following description of a *komumu* is from Pua Ma'u. The chant was sung in honor of the child of a chief. The performers were seated in a circle. Each man had two small sticks about an inch and a half in diameter and six inches long, one stick of each pair having on one side a scooped-out place, which was held over the hollow of the upturned palm. This stick was tapped with the other immediately over this place so that a hollow musical sound was produced. Two men had small logs about six inches in diameter which were tapped in a slower rhythm, furnishing a bass accompaniment to the rapid tapping of the smaller pairs of sticks. The Pua Ma'u people say that only men played the accompaniment, as the sticks were *tapu* to women.

539 This quotation from Melville (23, p. 257) evidently describes the singing of *komumu*:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these island-

> ers, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice 539
> with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer.

CHANTS AS SPELLS

An example of the text of the chants used in deep-sea fishing at Pua 539
Ma'u was obtained by Mr. Linton, and in the same valley I got one of
that used in turtle fishing. The one used for turtle fishing, called by its 789
reciter *mauta'a*, was said to have been used also in connection with the [225]
operation of incision of the boy's foreskin, and in conjunction with the rites of the memorial festivals.

In the myth of Tiki the hero chants or recites a spell, which is called *ue*, to give life to his child. *Ue* as a word was applied not only to weeping and grief but also to affection and to the male generative organ. Its use as the name of the chant or spell is probably in connection with the last mentioned meaning.

A spell called *koutapa* was chanted as a part of the healing rite called *tataoho*. (See Sickness.)

The tattooing artist recited a chant accommodated to the rhythm of his tapping while he worked. The recitation served as a spell to ease the pain.

Ha'a naunau appears to have been a general term for many types of songs, chants, and spells. It means "a singing." *Patautau* was used with the same meaning in Ua Huka. In the story of Kena a potent spell, the recital of which gives the hero the power to accomplish his exploits, is referred to throughout as *ha'a naunau*. Individual spells are recited in just this form in a number of stories. One example of Kena's spell on an occasion when he was compelling a number of boys to come on board his canoe is as follows:

Eia u, eia u, eia u, o Kena.
Here am I, here am I, here I, Kena.

Ai oa, te tau toiki!
Ah, the boys!

A kau! Amai i una o na vaka nei.
Swim! Come on to the canoe.

MISCELLANEOUS CHANTS

Mauta'a and *ha'a naunau* seem to have been terms applied to chants and spells used for various purposes. In some of the written legends the characters chant *mauta'a* when pursuing or about to meet enemies in

539 789 combat. In Pua Ma'u *mauta'a* is applied to chants supposed to give efficacy to enterprises and to bring about good results in tattooing or in surgical operations; and lastly, *mauta'a* served as songs to announce the coming of groups of people to feasts. When a great feast was being held at a festival place every tribe that arrived would sing its *mauta'a*, the chant being cried in a powerful voice by some selected singer. When the *mauta'a* of the visitors was heard it was answered from the feast place by those waiting to receive them, one man or several men crying out with great force.

The *ta'a* appears to have been the same as the *mauta'a*. These *ta'a*, according to Pua Ma'u informants, were shouted at feasts by men and women together.

The *vakahoa* resembled the *mauta'a* in being a sort of chant of exultation. It was sung by canoe parties or groups coming on foot to a festival. An example will be published with the text of the legend of Tana-oa, in which this chant caused the sinking of canoes that Tana-oa was pursuing, indicating that it was in the nature of a spell.

539 578 The *u'i* may be characterized as a dramatic dialogue recounting a matching of wits by two *tuhuna*. Every tribe had its *u'i* which was used in the following way. If a tribe went visiting into another valley and they were welcomed and entertained all was well. But if, on the other hand, as they lay offshore in their canoes they were told to "Get out" (Hau!!!), they would sing their *u'i*. In reply to this song of defiance the local tribe would sing a chant called *vave*. The example of an *u'i* that I have recounts, in the form of a dialogue, the contest and matching of wits of two *tuhuna* of ancient times. I was told that in such a contest as this chant describes a judge would sit between the two contestants while they cross-questioned and recriminated each other. The contestants were *tuhuna o'ono*, masters of myth, legend, and genealogy. The one who was outwitted was considered as defeated or overthrown (*ua hina*) by the victor. It is said that formerly a *tuhuna* thus defeated was killed. Such contests still take place in an informal way, and it is believed by some today that he who pretends to knowledge and is found wanting will die.

539 In the story of Kae a young adventurer sings a song called Atuia as he approaches the dwelling of his affianced (*tuia*).

The *kapa* was a kind of song which recounted the exploits of a hero.

The great development of singing is indicated by the number of kinds of chants that had distinct names. Dordillon (8) gives, in addition to a number of the names of the chants that have been described above, the various terms for other chants and kinds of chants. It would seem that

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most of these are generic terms and not merely names of single songs or chants, since Dordillon translates them usually as "kinds of chants." 539

The list is as follows:

Avaavaua, hakaoho, hariki, hehevaihi, hetau, hinatu, hioo, hiperue, ihituki, katumu, kihiouoho, kioe, mahau or mahau'u, mahitete or mahiatete, mahomaho, makemake, maku or ma'u, mauaheretie, nuhe, ori, otu, pikitahi, pona'u, pa'o'e, papakitahi, pepe, puhe kava, parirau, paro, patipati, patupatu, pehete, pipiko, potu, puatahii toua, puaiaua, putuaka, puko, hono, pututahi, ririraurau, taatita, taho, tahotahoki, tahoki, tahotahoko, tiritaateva, titiei, tuihope, tukihoe.

GENEALOGIES

All the genealogies that are available today are written. I believe 539 no living native knows by heart more than a small number of the later 173 names of his genealogy. In this report only one selected genealogy is given—one that appears to be the best and most trustworthy of those obtained. Others will be published subsequently, after they have been more carefully studied, and compared with others that it is hoped will be forthcoming. In the example given here, it will be seen that Atea and Atanua appear some distance down in the list. Genealogies usually start with these names, these two being regarded as, respectively, progenitor and progenitress of the native people. Modern natives, in explaining the matter, say that Atea and Atanua are like Adam and Eve. That statement is not correct, however, for Atea and Atanua were distinctly deities rather than human beings, and there is nothing to indicate that they are conceived of as having ever inhabited the islands as beings in human form. The genealogy given may be divided into sections as follows: (1) concepts of creation (Nos. 1-53, (2) personified concepts or deities (?) (Nos. 54-60), (3) ancient lands (Nos. 61-63), (4) gods (Nos. 64-108), (5) men (Nos. 109-144). Nos. 75-115 represent a period of legendary heroes and gods.

CHANTING OF GENEALOGIES

The most important use of genealogies was in some of the family rites. At marriage festivals and at funerary festivals the genealogy was chanted from the beginning. Family genealogies, either in part or from beginning to end, were chanted in the rites of adoption and in connection with the ceremonial chanting of the *vavana* and *pu'e* by family groups. At certain other rites, such as that which initiated the first-born into his

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[*] Examples of most of the chants described above were obtained in the native dialect, and the melodies of a few were recorded. The following are subsequently to be published: native texts with translation and melody—*pu'e, uhahi, nato, pepe, rari, ru'u, tapa'a, pipine, putu,* and *pehi;* native texts with translation—*tuna-pou, oho-au no Motuhaiki, vavana, ti'e mata, feufau-ou, aumaha, hakaoho, manava tupapa'u, puna tohu, vai hakoe, tupapa'u, tai, ha'ama, haka, ata, haihai hauma, puke toua, pu'e vii toua, houaka, viti, pu'u heka, mauta'a, ta'a, ue, houtapa, vahaho, u'i, hapa.*

539 173 first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by [887] women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

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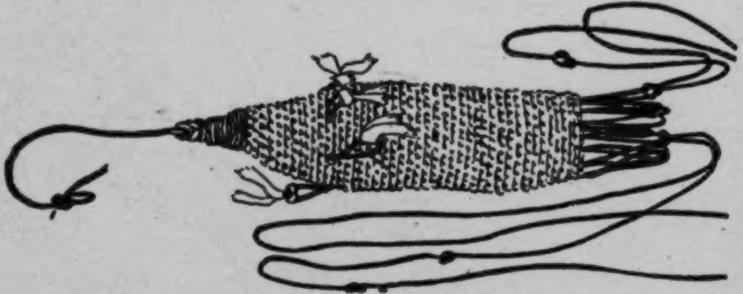

FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

539 173 An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toonui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	Akaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

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MALE	FEMALE
Akaoa (Long Root)	Akapoto (Short Root)
Akahuhu	Akaane
Tetinitiniotetoo (The Myridas of Roots)	Temanomanuootetoo (The Countless Number of Roots)
Teafeafeotetoo (The Great Length of the Roots)	Tepiimaiotetoo (The Upward Climbing of the Roots)
Tetoopuutia	Tetookokeani (The Useless Root)
Aitetomataetekoie	Tetuhiotokuietekoie
Aiteotikoe memaoane	Titootetoo te Akateaka ihato
Ouia	Toikia
Tepukupuku (The Swelling)	Tetonatona (The Very Agreeable)
Teuhitua (The Back Covering)	Teuhiao (The Front-covering)
Mani	Hapeu
Tehakahua (The Beginning, the Turning-about)	Tehakafenua (The Land-making)
	Kekeeinau
Teninuninu	Ahitake (The Fire-Bottom)
Tetake (The Foundation)	Makaio
Enata iuna	Haanaenuu
Tetake	Hakahotu
Enata iuna	Huoi
Titake	Tekomanu
Tetie	Tepaona
Tekomanu	Hia
Temu	Moeioto
Tehau	Moeivaho
	Anaekea
	Anapiimai
Piimaimeitahi	Papaioona
Tepapau	Tepapahau
Tepapahuia ete tau vave	Tepapakeeaki
Tepapatieikua	Tekuamoehau
Fifiti	Takina
Mapii	Tuatuaea
Tuiuta	Heiei
Tuitetohoa	Ito
Tupuhauhau	Hakaoa
Tuitai	Tepaekuaotane
Haamauaito	Ito
Tetaipupuna (The Sea-sweet-like-sugar-cane)	Tetaifeiai (The Sea-sweet-like-*fei'ai*)
Teakuhua	Teakupapa
Tefanafanatea	Tepapaiuna
Uakekeu	Tepapaiao
Tohaki	Hinatumaomao
(Tetaki)	
Fetoki	Hinahakatohuaani
Tepapauna (The Level Above)	Tepapaao (The Level Beneath)
Vatea (Clear Space)	Atanua
Tepo (The Night)	Mahito
Kuupenu	Teme'ama (The Moon)
Teata (The Reflection)	Nanaii
Teao (The Breath)	Animea
Tenuhi	Uutau

	MALE	FEMALE
539	Voke	Hanivaa
	Vevau [a land]	Havaii [a land]
173	Fiti [a land]	Tonatapu [a land]
	Fititapu [a land]	Tehau [a land]
	Teua (The Rain)	Tetai (The Sea)
	Tepai (The Wetness)	Kaukau (The Washing)
	Paiaimu (The Drinking Wetness)	Uavai (Water hole)
	Tepu (The Conch Shell)	Koata (Venus Shell)
	Tefaa (The Pandanus)	Hoohena (Strong Running)
	Tetiu (The North Wind)	Temetani (The Wind)
	Tefatu I (The Master, The Rock)	Toupii
	Tefatu II	Teea
	Tefatu III	Teoi
	Tefatu IV	Hukia
	Tefatu V	Hinataumiha
	Tiki [legendary character]	Kahuone (Pile of Sand)
	Tikitapu	Hinaua
	Aneane	Tumukee
	U	Aniani
	Tanaoa [legendary character, a god]	Mutuei
	Kootumu	Fatuaho
	Tehito	Maanau
	Hoi	Uehine
	Hoitupu	Hoihoe
	Hoikua	Hoimea
	Hoimapekau	Na Hoiamua etanaoa
	Tepua	Papaheani
	Iakau	Teuaheetoitoi
	Koopana	Ouhutukatokato
	Havini	Matativo
	Hoitanaoa	Teatuotu
	Hoiavaiki	Nukuepa
	Matauapuna	Toitata
	Punauunui	Meheua
	Punahohonu	Ahuoho
	Punafaakua	Tumuii
	Punavetea	Fitiei
	Punavete	Akamei
	Punatea	Tapuainui
	Punatefae	Tepuhimeoto
	Tupahee	Naonao
	Tupavaka	Huihena
	Tupahaataniitepu	Paanuimea
	Tupatanitetee	Hotie
	Temaituitu	Temaitutee
	Maituataanaifenua	
	Punatope	Oata
	Punatutu	Haiko
	Tupaoaiafai	Puhumomo
	Naku [legendary character, a first settler]	Uiaei
	Hotu	Moiakau
	Oko [legendary character]	Inuvae

MALE	FEMALE
Moota [legendary character, a tribal name]	Niniano [Legendary character]
Tiu [legendary character, a tribe]	Mofitu
Fekei	Maoninua
Tuoa	Hotaei
Mohuta [A tribal name on Hiva Oa]	Vaiatanuu
Meae	Atua
Kahumano	Tanihua
Ahunia	Tiufaa
Tatini	Teepana
Toumata	Tehueo
Nohea	Kaukau
Timoka	Tapuahu
Tuakina	Papeoho
Tepiu	Piinoa
Tiufeaa	Tuhiua
Motootoofenua	Puutini
Teaninuinei	Tiutaha
Kouaehitini	Takeoho
Taupo [A subtribe in Vevau]	Teheva
Tepaapaa	Maotai
Kopaaninatea	Hivapu
Fatukua	Titopu
Kuaiteoho [A subtribe in Vevau]	Honuani
Puatautau	Honutoia
Fatukua	Naeaefitu
Hamihiao	Tiamate
Ututete	Tipeeipuoho
Tekohuotaupo	Natapuotiu
Feuapoenui	Piuiatohetika
Piuhenua	Tuhitaiuta
Vahitete	Temeiu
Tohuputona	Tauahokaani
Ioane [Now living]	Emere [died 1921]

GENEALOGY OF NATURE

The descent of various growing things, and other elements of nature, from Atea is shown in the following list. As is shown here, each stone, plant or animal, had its particular mother, and was fathered by Atea (Vatea).

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Te'a (Rock)
	Heteuatoto	Te'etu (Red tufa)
	Huumania	Tiva (Beach boulder)
	Uuhoa	Ehi (Coconut)
	Momea	Mei (Breadfruit)
	Pihaei	Ihi (Chestnut)
	Paemo	Fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*)
	Uamamaenoa	Tohe (Bamboo)
	Maetoitoi	Tuaivi (Mountain)

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FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Metie (Grass)
	Tuotuoo	Kakàho (Reed)
	Tiitiinehu	Tahuna (The seabeach)
	Hopu	Heepo (*Epo:* Soil?)
	Tiipahanoo	Ama (Candlenut)
	Hemua	Huatei (?)
	Hinatetepu	Pua (*Carissa grandis*)
		Tiae (*Gardenia tahitiensis*)
	Hinaooifatu	Hefaa (*Pandanus odoratissimus*)
	Veavea	Tatiu (Cucumis)
	Tohine	Faahoa (Pineapple)
	Tetuhitetano	Mae
	Uinae	Moho (an unidentified plant)
	Teputuohei	Tava
	Tiimaa	Puaa (Pig)
		Vahane (*Corypha umbraculifera*)
		Tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*)
		Tavaiti
		Enetae
		Hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*)
		Evą (*Cerebra manghas*)
		Topini (*o kopiti*, a kind of tree)
		Tokuu (Indian lilac)
		Toa (*Casuarina equisetifolia*)

GENEALOGY OF MOONS

This list shows the descent of the moons (months) from Atea, by different mothers.

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Upuoo	Takuua (August)
		Mahina (September)
		Avea (October)
		Oaoumanu (November)
	Pukeoo (a star)	Ehua (December)
		Ve'o (January)
		Uaoa (February)
		Mehau (March)
	Tekuteku	Pohe (April)
		Makaiki (May)
		Napea (June)
		Tuhuamatakeo (July)

TIME RECKONING

It is very difficult to formulate any account of the calendar in the Marquesas. Such information as is at hand from literary sources is very conflicting, and I failed to find a single modern native who had any reliable knowledge of the seasons. The reason for this is obvious; it was the priests and mastercraftsmen only who knew of these matters, and the last of them has long been dead. Lawson says in his manuscript: "The fishermen and the priests are the principal ones who keep the run of the days of the month and distinguish between twenty-nine and thirty days in the different months." 805

Day and night were divided and named in the following manner: *moa tapu* (*tapu* cock) was about midnight or one o'clock in the morning when the first cock crew; *ma'u o'io'i* (tomorrow-shade), when the third cock crew, about two-thirty; *tata hoata te ma'ama* (the light is near breaking) just before dawn, about three-thirty; *kehukehu,* dawn; *tu nui* (sun standing up), when the sun was quarter-way up, about eight to nine in the morning; *o atea nui,* noon; *evaeva tea,* when the sun was just above the mountains (*mea tata te kapua*); *ahiahi,* just after sunset, when fires (*ahi*) were lighted; *makehukehu,* dusk, before real night set in; *mamata vehine hae* (eyes of *vehine hae* or ogress), about eight o'clock in the evening.

Twenty-nine or thirty nights (*po*) made up one moon (*me'ama* or *mahina*). In the lists of the names of the days and nights (see Table 1) it will be observed that there are more variant terms for the sixteenth night than for any other. A Hiva Oa informant gave an explanation of this as follows: *Akau, maue,* and *maie* (another term used for the sixteenth night, not given in the list) all refer to the male procreative organ. *Hotu* or *honu* meant to agitate or stretch. The significance of the use of these figurative terms for the night of the full moon is obvious. It was on the nights when the moon was brightest that the *ka'ioi* circulated most freely. In connection with planting it was pointed out that the natives believed that what was planted in the ground at the time of the full moon would grow best. It is evident that there was here an association of ideas based on the native conceptions of the mode of generation in nature. Whether the following remarks about fishing, made by my informant upon this occasion are directly or only indirectly relevant to the same conceptions is uncertain. The informant explained that the night of the full moon was the least favorable for fishing, and that anyone who went fishing on that night was subject to the taunt *"E ue te avena"* (Your catch will be, or is, a penis). 805 821

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON[24]

NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
1. O Tunui	Tu ^{L}	O Maamamaama
2. O Tuhava	Maheama tutahi ^{L}	O Totohe
3. O Tuhaka	Tuhaahoata $^{D K}$ Hoata ^{P} Maheama vavena ^{L}	O Pakiikii
4. O Maheama tuatahi	Maheama tahi $^{D K P}$ Maheama tuhakapau ^{L}	O Ua noa
5. O Maheama vaveka	Koekoe tutahi ^{L}	O Puke noa
6. O Maheama hakapao	Koekoe tuvavena ^{L}	O Pukeoo
7. O Koekoe tuatahi	Koekoe tutahi ^{D} Koekoe tahi $^{K P}$ Koekoe tuhakapau ^{L}	O Maunoa
8. O Koekoe vaveka	Hai ^{L}	O Taunoa
9. O Koekoe hakapao	Una ^{L}	O Tata mai
10. O Ai	Mahau ^{L}	O Heke noa
11. O Huna	Hua ^{L}	O Pua mai
12. O Mahau	Mahao ^{D} Mehau $^{K P}$ Tua ^{L}	O Taha noa
13. O Ua	Hua ^{D} Otu-nui ^{L}	O Haako
14. O Atua	Otu mauii ^{L}	O Patavai
15. O Tunui	Hohotu nui ^{D} Hotunui $^{K P}$ Otu ^{L}	O Mahinahina
16. O Mahuto	Honu nui, Honu maakau ^{D} Hotu maue, Maue ^{K} Hotu akau ^{P} Neva ^{L}	O Tihenoa
17. O Tuu	Metohe ^{L}	O Huamai
18. O Akau	Aniva $^{D K P}$ Hakahau ^{L}	O Taumai
19. O Motohi	Akau ^{D} Metohi $^{K P}$ Koekoe tahi ^{L}	O Mamae
20. O Tohiau	Akau $^{K P}$ Koekoe vavena ^{L}	O Kakenoa
21. O Taukume	Koekoe tahi $^{D K P}$ Koekoe pau ^{L}	O Tavatava
22. O Kumea	Koekoe vavena $^{D K P}$ Vehe ^{L}	O Keekee
23. O Eca	Koekoe haapao $^{D K P}$ Tane ^{L}	O Oua noa

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[24] Note: The basic list of nights and days in the first and third columns is from the Dordillon MS. (9). The variant terms for nights are from various sources indicated as follows: Dordillon's Dictionary (D), the Kekela MS., Hiva Oa (K), Proiho (P) (a Fatu Hiva informant), and the Lawson MSL. written on Ua Huka.

NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON—CONTINUED

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	NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
24.	O Takaoa tutahi	Tuhiva [B F] Tanaoa tahi [K] Hee hee ia [L]	O Pukepuke
25.	O Takaoa vaveka	Atiati [B] Tanaoa tahi [F] Taukume [L]	O Puke noa
26.	O Takaoa hakapao	Vaka [B] Tanaoa vavena [F] Ku mea [L]	O Tahataha
27.	O Vehi	Tane [K] Tanaoa haapao [F] Tana hau vaka [L]	O Hatihati
28.	O Tane	Moui [K] Tana hau vehi [L]	O Maunoa
29.	O Mouikeo	Ononui [B K F] Nunui [L]	O Tau noa
30.	O Oko mate	Nu mata [L]	O Moe noa

The phases of the moon were named as follows: the new moon, *mahina hou* (new moon), or *mahina tu* (rising moon); the half moon, or end of the first quarter, *mahina kotapa* (moon cut off); the full moon, *mahina pi* (moon full); and the moon in its last quarter, *mahina fiti po tano* (moon going to dense darkness).

The different moons were thought to be the children of Atea. (See Genealogies). It is probable that the divergences in the lists of moon names (see page 348) are due to local variation in different sections of the group. It is difficult, however, to understand how the position of the name could be shifted in the lists if these names stood for stars or constellations that appeared at these times—as they very evidently did. The only explanation that comes to my mind is that if there were such shifting and changing of names in the calendar, there must have been corresponding variations in the naming of the stars. Of course no constellation or star is visible during only one moon; There may have been some leeway on account of this. Again, it is to be observed that in two lists there are thirteen names; in the two others, twelve. The differences of position of the names may be due to variations in a custom of interpolating the thirteenth month at different times in different sections of the group. I have no evidence that there was such interpolation other than the occurrence of a thirteenth name in two of the lists. It is to be noted that the names which correspond in the several lists occur always in the same order.

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805 821 Ten moons (*me'ama*) made one *puni* or *tau*. I have never heard of any way of recording, or of naming, *puni*. *Ehua*, *mataiki*, or *mei nui*, as terms applied to the round of seasons seem to have corresponded to our year. In the mind of the native, however, these terms were not looked upon as a unit of time but merely as referring to the harvests. The *ehua* and *mataiki* were the two great breadfruit harvests, while *mei nui*, meaning literally, much breadfruit, refers also to the harvest. Such thinking in terms of time as the native did beyond the counting of nights and days of the moon and the different moons was referred to in terms of ten moons, *puni*, not of twelve-month periods comparable to ours. In other words, in counting time the native thought in terms of days, moons, and tens of moons; whereas, in thinking of the round of the year, he thought in terms of seasons marked by the appearance of stars and constellations.

NAMES OF MONTHS OR MOONS ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES

	DORDILLON MS (9)		DORDILLON DICTIONARY (8)	KEKELA MS	FORNANDER (12, p. 332)
1.	Matai'i and Iti	(May)	Napea	Mataiki	Kuhua
2.	Tuhua and Takeo	(June)	Matai'i (Pleiades)	Napea	Katuna
3.	Takuua	(July)	Tuhua (Constellation)	Tuhuamatakeo	Ehua
4.	Ehuo	(August)	Takuua (Star)	Takuua	Nanaua
5.	Mahina i hea	(September)	Ehuo (Star)	Mahina i hea	Oaomanu
6.	Oaoamanu me pui	(October)	Mahina i hea	Avea	Avea
7.	Avea with Puaka	(November)	Oaoa manu (Star)	Oaoamanu	Ehua
8.	Mei with Ehua	(December)	Avea	Ehua	Veo
9.	Veo with Tautou	(January)	Ehua (Constellation)	Veo	Uaoa
10.	Uaoa with Uahameau	(February)	Veo (Star)	Uaoa	Uahaameau
11.	Pohe with Fatutii	(March)	Uaoa (Constellation)	Mehau	Pohe
12.	Napea or Tapeka	(April)	Uahameau	Pohe	Napea
13.			Pohe (Star)		Makau (probably Makaii)

805 821 221 Stars or constellations were also guides in counting the round of the year according to the Dordillon (9) manuscript. The list, which relates to Nuku Hiva, is as follows:

NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS[25] THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS[26]

1.	Kana	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
2.	Puaka	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
3.	Avea	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
4.	Mei	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.

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[25] The appearance of the constellation above the horizon is referred to thus: *Ia tu Mataiki, menino te tai*, when the Pleiades rise, or stand up (*tu*), the sea is calm. The record given above appears to be from Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva.

[26] Compare with names of months in the preceding list.

NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS—CONTINUED 805 821 221

5.	Ehua	Breadfruit grows large; it is warm; the sea runs high.
6.	Veo	Breadfruit is harvested; it is mild.
7.	Uaoa	There is much harvesting; it is cold.
8.	Mekau	Breadfruit is harvested; it is cold.
9.	Pohe	Breadfruit is finished (June); it is cold.
10.	Komui	Second growth of breadfruit; it is cold.
11.	Atutahi	Breadfruit grows large; it is cool.
12.	Ehuo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
13.	Iti	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
14.	Takeo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
15.	Tuhua	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
16.	Tapeka	Breadfruit grows again; the sea runs high.
17.	Mataiki	Third breadfruit harvest; the sea is calm.

The definitions of the words *ehua* and *mata'iki* (Nos. 5 and 17 of the list in Table 3) offer considerable difficulties. In the first place they were both names of constellations. In the second place they were both used as terms corresponding to our word for year. Again, each was the name of a breadfruit harvest, *ehua* of the greatest annual harvest, *mataiki* of the second greatest, which would appear to have come round about the times of the seasons named after these constellations, but which were very variable. Rainfall governed the breadfruit crops, causing early fruiting, and rainfall was dependant on exposure and winds, the latter being always somewhat variable. The largest breadfruit crop (*ehua*) appears usually to have been in December or January; the next largest (*mataiki*) in April or May. There were besides these, secondary or supplementary crops of first or after growths called *kavea*, *katoe*, or *komui*. Lawson, writing in 1867 from Ua Huka, states that the great breadfruit harvest called *ua* (probably *ehua*) was in March and April. On Hiva Oa I was told that the great harvest ended in March; that a supplementary crop called *komui* followed this in June; that the second harvest (*mataiki*), not as large as the first, came in September; and that this was followed in December by a second supplementary crop called *kavea*.

Père Siméon in a personal communication writes that *ehua* and 805 *mataiki* were also sometimes used to refer to the temperature, sometimes 821 to the state of the sea: *mataiki* referring as a general term to the cold season, when the sea was calm on the north coasts and rough on the south; and *ehua* to the hot season, when the sea was rough on the north coasts and calm on the south. In general, the summer (warmer season) from October to March is the time when the sea is likely to be rough on the northern coasts of the islands; the winter (cooler season), from May to September, when it is rough on the south coasts. I was told that the

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805 821 moon named *uaoa* was so called because it was in that month that there was usually most rain. With regard to all these matters regarding rainy seasons, breadfruits harvests, and so on, the reader is referred to the report on the Marquesas by the botanist[27] of the Bishop Museum. The time of greatest plenty of fish seems to have corresponded more or less with that of the great breadfruit crop; fish were most plentiful at Atu Ona (on the south coast of Hivo Oa) in December (*avea*), in Haka Hau (on the north coast of Ua Pou but in the lee of Nuku Hiva) in January (*veo*).

NAMES OF STARS AND CONSTELLATIONS

(From Dordillon's Dictionary (8)		(From the Lawson MS.)	
STARS	CONSTELLATIONS	STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Ao'amanu	Haamekau	Hee-ti (Aldebaran)	Te-umu
Atinaha	Heipua	Pao-toa (Aquila)	Kana
Atutahi	Iti	Hai (Antares)	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Ave'a, Aveka	Manu kaki oa (Great Bear)	Hua (Jupiter)	Na-poka
Ehuo	Matahetu	Hu-aua	Pohii
Mataua a	Mataiki (Pleiades)	Ha-vae-a	Hatu-tahi (Fomalhaut)
Mahau	Mahaka	Maena eke aia	Na-pai-ka (Aries)
Manapu-upu'ute ahiahi (Venus)	Mahake tutue houu	Te-huii	Hetu-nui (Venus)
			Hetu-ao (Morning star)
Nape'a	Me'e (Corvus)	Te-tuii	Hetu ahiahi (Evening star)
Pohe	Natuihohoe	Moana tu-tu a ono	
Pu'ukaha	Titihohoe		
Pukeo'o	Tuhua		
Puaka	Tuitui hohoe (Orion)		
Tahiipua	Ua'oa		
Takeo			
Takuua			
Tape'a			
Tauna'a			
Tuna			
Tuuatea			
Uanui			
Ve'o			

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[27] Forest H. Brown, the results of whose botanical researches in the Marquesas have not as yet been prepared for publication.

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GLOSSARY OF MARQUESAN NATIVE TERMS

In this glossary and throughout the text the terms used are those of the southern section of the island group unless otherwise indicated. If the term differs in the northern section, the variant is printed in parenthesis following the term of the southern dialect.

A. Day.
Ahana. Husband, male.
Aho. Cord.
Ahui (kahui). Prohibition placed on land, sea, or foods.
Akau. Wood.
Ama. 1. The candlenut tree and its nut. 2. The torch made of the kernels of the nut.
Amo. A carrying pole.
Ava-ika. Fishing.
Ehi. The coconut. Tumu ehi, the coconut tree.
Ehua. Year.
Eita, teita. Herbiage, weeds, foliage.
Ena (eka). .The turmeric plant. 2. Curcumin.
Enata (enana, kenana). Native, native people. Syn. mao'i.
Etua, atua. God, spirit.
Fa'e (ha'e). Dwelling house.
Fa'e tukau or tu'a. Inspirational priest's house.
Fa'e tumau. Cooking house, kitchen.
Faimu, haika. Medicine.
Fanaua (hanaua). Female demons.
Fata'a. Sacred store house.
Fata. Food post.
Fau (hau). A tree related to the Hawaiian hau.
Fenua. Land.
Fetu. Star.
Ha'akakai (tekao). Legend.
Ha'a-te-pe-'iu (haka-te-pe'iu). Chiefess.
Haina. Utensils, furniture.
Haka. Dance.
Haka-iki. Chief, first-born son.
Hami. Loin cloth.
Hana (haka). 1. Work. 2. Bay.
Heana (heaka). Revenge or sacrifice victim captured in war.
Hei. Necklace or crown.
Hiapo. A young tree of the fig family (Ficus prolixa) the bark of which was used to make the red-brown sacred cloth. (The old tree was called aoa.)
Hoe. A paddle.
Hoki. Troupe of dancers and singers.
Honi. To rub noses, to kiss.
Hua'a (huaka). Relative, fellow tribesman.
Hue. Gourd or any closed container.
Ihi. 1. A tree (Inocarpus edulis). 2. The nut of the tree.
Ika. Fish.
Ima. Arm, hand.
Inai. Any flesh accompanying the popoi pudding made of breadfruit.
Inoa. Name e inoa, to be namesakes.
Ipu (kipu). A small container, a bowl.
Ka'avai. Valley.

104 **Ka'eu.** Woman's waist cloth.
Kahu. Cloth, robe.
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Ka'ioi. Youthful libertines.
Kanahu or **kanau'u.** South wind.[*]
Kanau'u tokaae. Southwest wind.
Kanau'u tuatoka. Southeast wind.
Kava. 1. A shrub (Piper methysticum). 2. A drink made from the root.
Ke'a. Rock
Ke'etu. A squared block of cut tufa or coral.
Keho. A basalt column planted in the ground to serve as a back rest, a carved stone seat.
Keta. Basket or bag.
Keu. Game, play.
Kiva. Smooth beach pebble or boulder.
Kohe. Bamboo, knife.
Ko'ina (ko'ika). Feast or festival.
Koufau. Poles or sticks or fau with bark peeled off. Used ceremonially.
Ma. Fermented breadfruit paste.
Ma'ama. Month in the northern section.
Mahina. Moon, month in the southern section.
Mana. Power, skill.
Mata. Eyes, face.
Mata. Genealogy.
Mata tetau. Recitation of genealogy.
Mate. Sickness, death.
Mata-oi-nana. Tribe, people.
Matau. A fishhook.
Me'ae. Tomb, temple, sacred place.
Mei. Breadfruit.
Me'ie. Serene, clear, not tabu.
Mi'o. A tree (Thespesia populnea).
Moa. Temple assistant.
Moena (moeka). Mat.
Motu. Island.
Nati, kaha (nani kaha). Sorcery.
Noni. A tree. (Morinda citrifolia.)
Oho au. A special structure erected for some work.
O'ono (o'oko). Chants.
Ouoho. 1. Head hair. 2. Ornaments made of hair.
Pa'e. Headdress.
Paepae. Stone platform.
Pahu. Drum.
Pani. Perfumed coconut oil.
Papa. Board, flat rock, coffin.
Papua. Enclosed place, platform, garden patch, stockade.
Patiutiu. Northeast wind.
Patu tiki. Tattoo.
Pekio. Secondary husband or wife.
Po. Night, darkness.
Pu. Conch shell, musical instrument.

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[*] The names of winds are from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and from the Lawson Ms. Lawson writes that the natives had thirty-two names for winds, but that when he was in the Marquesas (1867) they remembered only a few. It is probable that most of the other names were those of kinds of winds (such as, gusts causing ripples near the shore, etc.), as is the case with names of winds in Hawaii and Tahiti.

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Pu'a. Flower.
Puna. 1. Coral. 2. Source, origin, spring.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit.
Taetae. Personal possessions, ornaments, clothing.
Tafai. To feed or to adopt.
Taha ko'ina (ko'ika). Festival place.
Tahi'i. A fan.
Tama. 1. Child. 2. Subject of a chief.
Tanu. To plant.
Ta'o. Taro.
Tapa. Bark cloth.
Tapu. Sacred, prohibited.
Tatihi. Doctoring, surgery, medicine.
Tau'a. Inspirational priest.
Teke. Incision of the foreskin.
Temanu. A tree. (Calophyllum inophyllum.)
Ti. A shrub (Cordyline terminalis).
Tiki. Idol, image, representation, design.
Tino. Body.
Tiu. North wind.
Tiu tokoau. Northwest wind.
Toa. Ironwood tree (Casuarina equisetifolia).
Tohua. Paved dance place.
To'i (toki). Adz.
Tokai. Place where women dying in childbirth were buried.
Tokoau. West wind.
Toua. War.
Tou'a. Rope.
Tuaivi. Mountain.
Tuatona. East wind.
Tuhuna (tuhuka). Professional, director, expert.
Tuhuna nui. Master of crafts and learning.
Tuhuna o'ono (tuhuka o'oko). Ceremonial priest and bard.
Tumu. Tree.
Tupapa'u (tupapaku). Corpse.
Uapu, a'anui. Road, path, trail.
Uhane (kuhane). Ghost, spirit, soul.
Upena (upeka). Fishing net.
Upo'o (upoko). Head.
Ute. Paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) from the bark of which was made the fine white cloth used for dress and ceremonial purposes
U'u. War club.
Vae. Leg, foot.
Vai. Fresh water, stream.
Vaka. Canoe.
Vehine. Woman, wife.
Vehine hae. Ghost, demon, ogress.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

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- *A.* Looking west into Taha Uka, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.
- *B.* Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.
- *C.* Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.
- *D.* Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.
- *E.* Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.
- *F.* Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

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- *A.* Puhe tete Haapuani, a tahuna oni who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.
- *B.* Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.
- *C.* Eo tafa of Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)
- *D.* Teave'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.
- *E.* Homme of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *hami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.
- *F.* Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *pene ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.
- *G.* Proiko of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.
- *H.* Mauepahe of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.
- *I.* Tavahi-tahuo of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.
- *J.* Taniha Ṭeaho of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
- *K.* Tehumo of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.
- *L.* Tahia-po'o-keana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
- *M.* Pompeme, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.
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532 PLATE IV.—TATOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS: A LEG DESIGN.

PLATE V.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS.

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- *A.* Basket for draining breadfruit.
- *B.* *Ma* pit lined with banana leaves.
- *C.* *Ma* pit, showing the stored *ma*, and the banana leaves projecting beyond the mouth of the hole.
- *D.* *Ma* pit, showing tiers of *ti* leaves laid horizontally.

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252 PLATE VI.—THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A.

- *A.* *Ma* pit, showing covering of *ti*-leaf mats.
- *B.* *Ma* pit, showing banana leaf covering.
- *C.* Breadfruit for making *fei kai mei pa'a*, laid in a fern-lined trough of bark.
- *D.* The trough closed like a tube for ripening the fruit.

252 PLATE VII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

- *A.* The ingredients placed in a leaf-lined hole in the ground.
- *B.* The leaves tied to form a bag.
- *C.* The bags containing the ingredients, tied in pairs and hung over a pole.
- *D.* The bag-laden poles placed across the oven.

PLATE VIII.—THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*).

- *A.* Small fau poles laid across the logs supporting the bags.
- *B.* A layer of coconut palm leaves on the fau poles.
- *C.* A layer of bark covering the coconut leaves.
- *D.* The whole oven covered with earth and embers.

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A B C

D E F

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

[End Plate 1]

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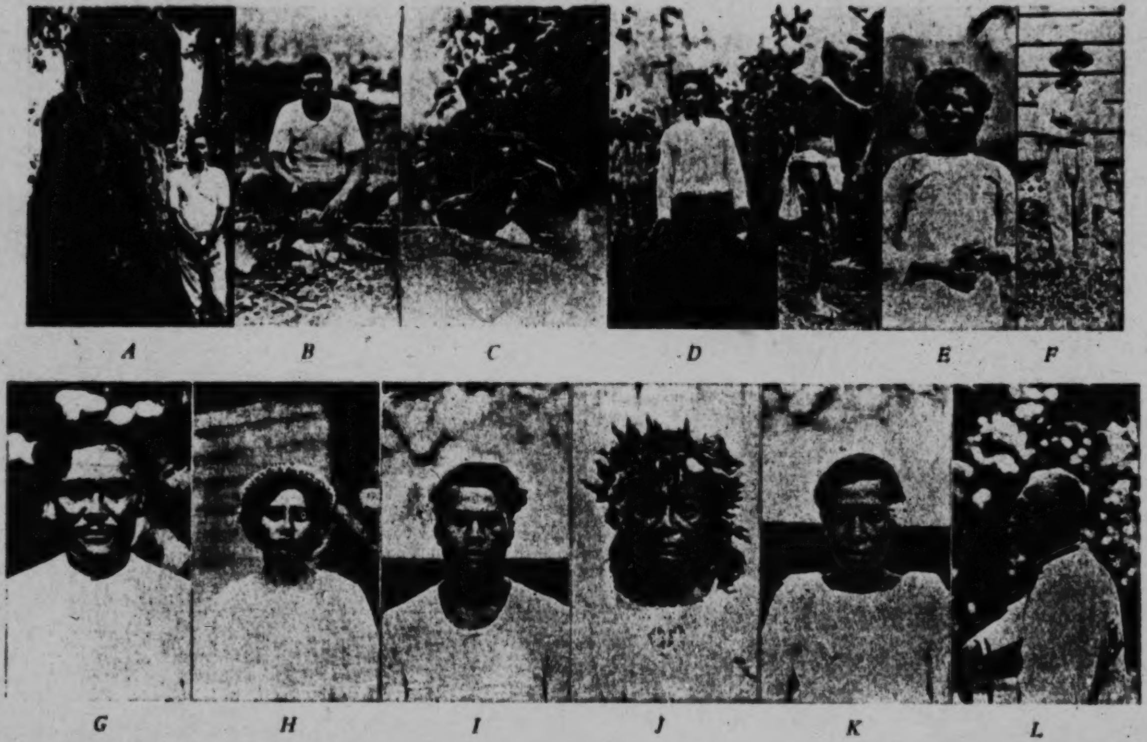

A B C D E F

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MARQUESAS ISLANDERS OF TODAY

[End Plate 2]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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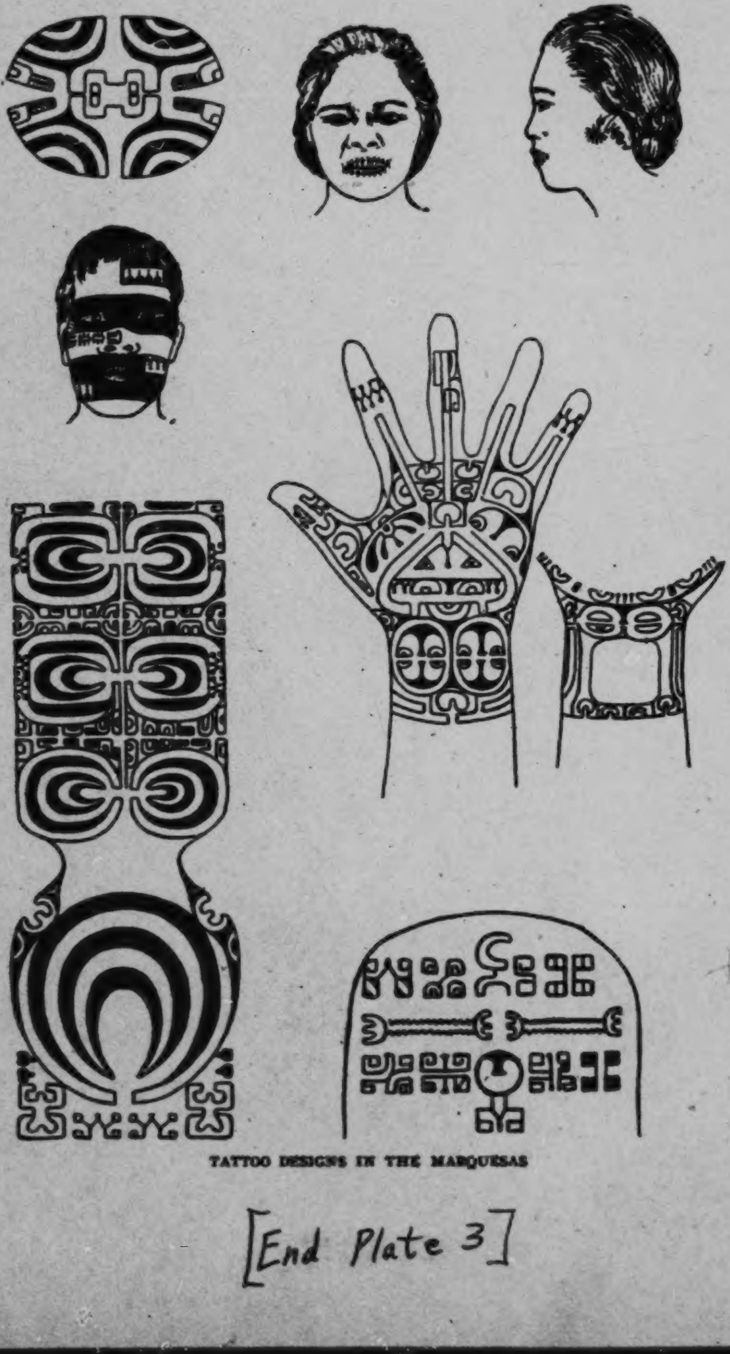

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 3]

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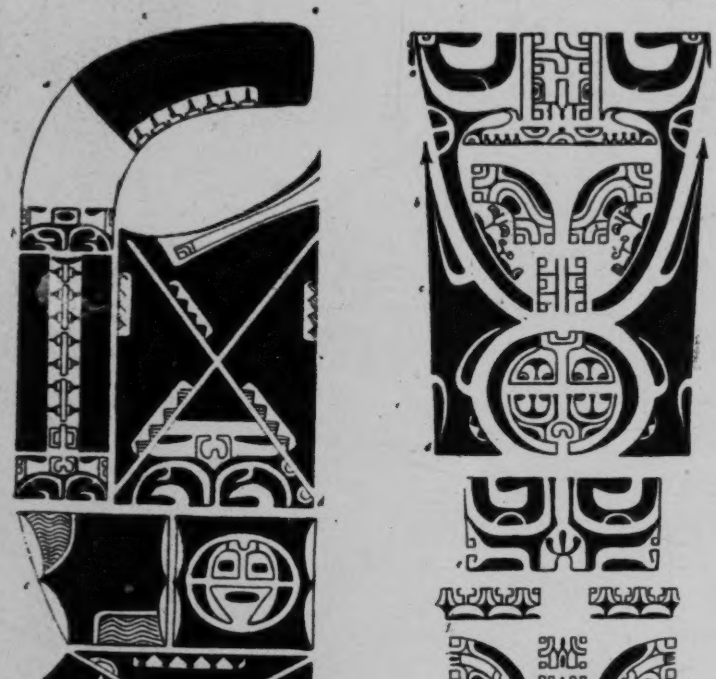
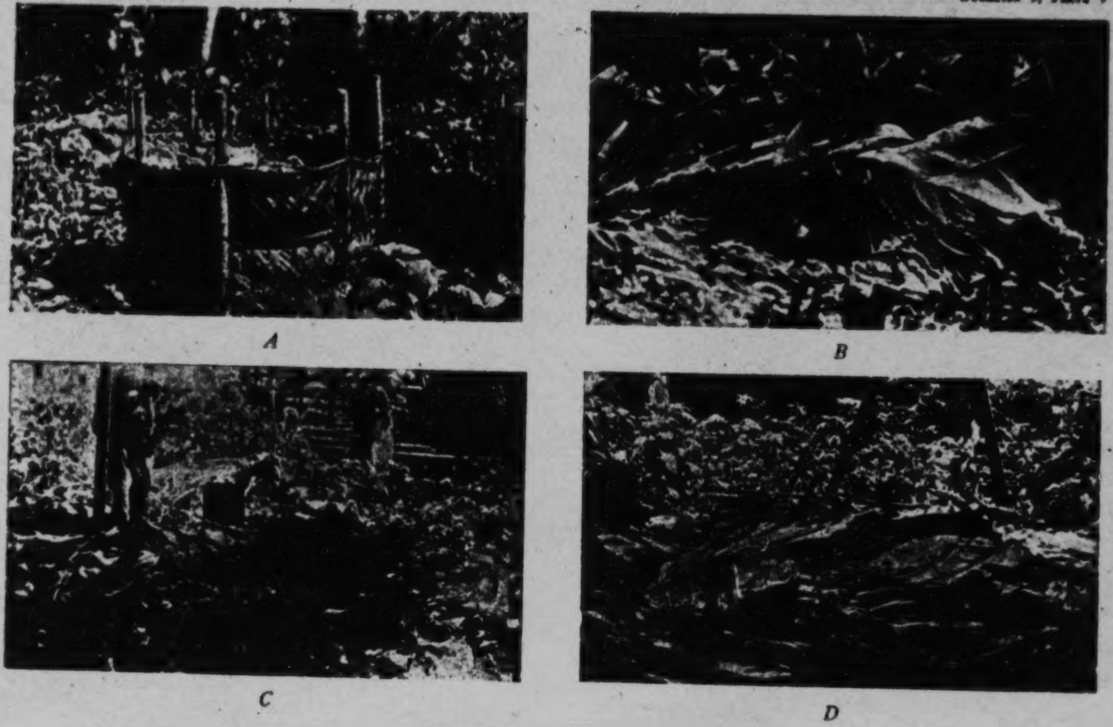


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

[End Plate 5]



THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT IN SILOS
Photographs by Ralph Linton

THE STORAGE OF BREADFRUIT (*continued*) AND THE PREPARATION OF PEIKEI MEI PA'A.
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 6]

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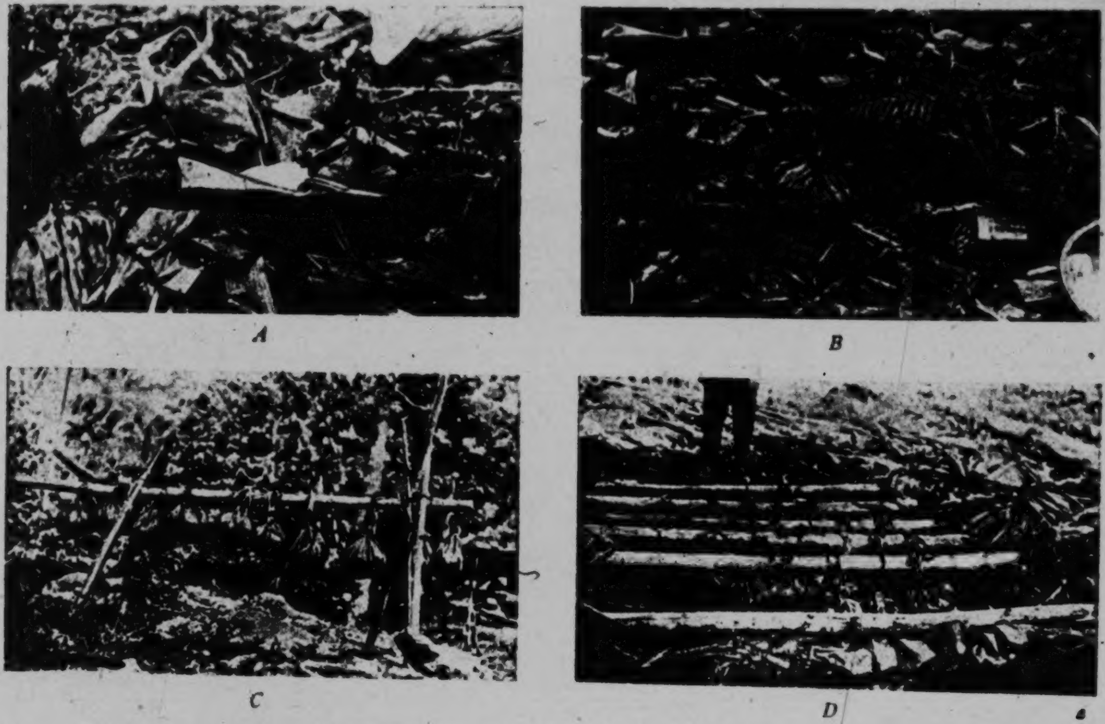
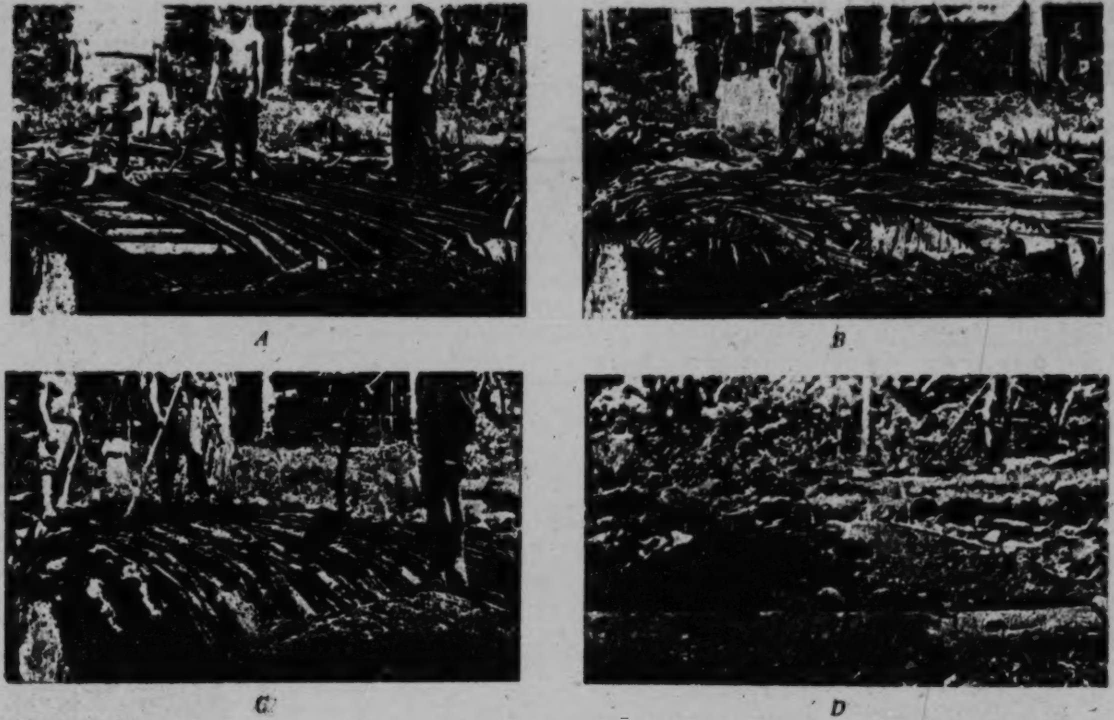
1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6


A
B
C
D

THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*)
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 7]



THE PREPARATION OF FEIKAI MEI PA'A (*continued*)
Photographs by Ralph Linton

[End Plate 8]

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6